THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem. S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii, AD PASCENT.

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"Contributors to the QUARTERLY will be allowed all proper freedom in the expansion of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."
(Extract from Salutatory, July, 1890.)

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THE BIBLE AS THE GRAND PRAYER-BOOK OF PRE-REFORMATION LAITY

IN THE controversies between Catholics and Protestants about the Rule of Faith, now going on for four centuries, the use of the Bible as source of our belief has been emphasized to such an extent that the other aspects have become somewhat obscured. The defenders of the Chruch have demonstrated in a long line of controversial works that her teachings are not in the least adverse to the doctrines taught in the Bible and that there is a most perfect harmony between the Bible and the Church, both being the work of God for the salvation of souls through the diffusion of His Word among the nations. The Bible, however, has an exceedingly great value not only for the theologian, but also for the historian, the antiquary, the philosopher, the philologist, the ethnologist and the litterateur. Yet, besides all these scientific viewpoints the Scriptures possess the greatest practical value by becoming potent means of enlightening our faith, of quickening our religious life, of leading us on the way to Christian perfection, thereby to draw nearer day by day to the greatest model, Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Work of God. In one word, the Bible is "The great textbook" of Christian morality and religious education.

There is, however, still another aspect which is not emphasized enough now-a-days, viz: The Bible is not only a "Law of Creed" or book containing the saving messages of faith, but also a "Law of Prayer" or a book embodying the most perfect, the truest and the

modern libraries. The lay people, however, especially of higher nobility, demanded naturally Psalters written in full without such irritating contractions and abbreviations.

Girls received a better education, as a rule, during the early middle Ages than boys; therefore, the Psalter was to a greater extent the prayer-book of women than men. As a matter of fact, the *Book of Psalms remained for five centuries* (800 A.D.-1300 A.D.) pre-eminently the prayer-book of women of the world. The Psalter was the inseparable companion of women, from which they prayed and said blessings; it was carried on a strap of leather hanging from the belt or inclosed in a bag or small basket. Even poorer women were the proud possessors of Psalters. The famous monk Marianus Scotus of Ratisbon (died 1088) copied many Psalters which he gave to poor widows as presents. Many a woman did not possess another book besides her Psalter. Yet, after the middle of the thirteenth century a Psalter was a regular heirloom in every family, at least in Germany, which was "handed down from mother to child, through long generations." The famous German law-book, called "Saxon Mirror" and compiled about the year 1230, decrees (Book I, art. 24): 'The daughter shall inherit from her mother: Yarn, linen, cushions, table-cloths, gold jewels, prayer-beads, *Psalters and all books which belong to Divine Service and which are generally read by women*" (cp. Hoffmann Die. hl. Schrift in der Vergangenheit, Kempten, 1902, pp. 61 sq.). But everywhere throughout Europe the Psalter was the never-missing Christmas-gift for boys and girls of wealthy families.

All these Psalter prayer-books were in Latin, because during these early centuries both clergy and laity, men and women, boys and girls, prayed without fail in Latin. They all prayed in Latin *intelligently,* since the Psalter had been their first reading-book or primer.

The first step in the education of children was to make them familiar with the Psalms. Before pupils were taught to read and write, they had to learn by heart certain Psalms. This was done by oral instruction; the teacher recited repeatedly the part to be memorized and the pupils repeated it, till they had committed it to memory. In many cases, however, children had received this preparatory instruction previous to their entrance into the monastic schools. Nuns were chosen as a rule to impart to boys and girls this preliminary knowledge of the Psalter which was destined to become in many cases the solid basis for that marvelous familiarity with the inspired Psalms of King David which is extolled by the biographers of nu-

merous leading men of the early Middle Ages, a familiarity extending so far that they knew the whole Psalter by heart. When the pupil had been properly prepared by memorizing Psalms to be taught the letters, the Psalter was used again as a First Reader or a Primer. The first words spelled were sacred words of the Psalmist. "The first reader of a seventh-century schoolboy," writes G. Metlake (*Am. Eccl. Rev.*, vol. XLIX, 1913, p. 536), "was not a picture-book about cat and dog and bird, but the Psalter or Book of Psalms." The one hundred and fifty glorious songs of David had to be learnt by heart (at least in part). Bible stories replaced the nursery tale, and the Psalms supplanted the pagan nursery rhyme. Such had been the practice of the Church since the days of Basil (died 379 A.D.), Chrysostom (d. 407), and Jerome (d. 420)" and *such remained the practice of the Church throughout well-nigh twelve centuries up to the eve of the Reformation* (cp. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 42).

The social position of women during the Middle Ages did not demand of them as imperatively literary attainments as modern conditions. Nevertheless, a modicum of education spread among all classes of women pretty generally, not from motives of worldly gain, as may be the case too often nowadays, but as the result of a longing for spiritual wisdom. The main reason, and in numerous cases the only reason, why girls learnt to read was to be able to pray from the Psalter. Many a nobleman sent his girls to the convent school only so long, till they had learnt to read and understand their prayer-book, the Psalter. Accordingly, a great number of women and young ladies of the world had no other erudition besides that of knowing, how to read their Psalter intelligently, so that they became familiar in general with the content of the Psalms and knew great portions, if not the entire Book of Psalms, by heart. It was the great ambition of every girl to acquire, at least, these literary attainments, when they were denied a higher education. And many a scholar who had not enough talents to teach the higher branches made his living by keeping a girls' school and devoting all his time to initiate girls into the knowledge of the Psalter. Together with monks and nuns they formed the great class of professional Bible-teachers (cp. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 62).

The Psalters written for and used by common people were, as a matter of course, very plain without hardly any artistic decorations. They were worn out by constant use and have perished completely with but rare exceptions. However, precious and superbly illuminated Psalter prayer-books of the rich have been happily preserved

to us in some few copies, partly on account of their priceless ornamentation or binding and partly on account of their association with exalted former owners and users. The earliest of these prayer-books still extant are the Psalter of Emperor Lothair (died 855 A.D.) written about the year 845, the Psalter of Emperor Charles the Bald (died 877), now preserved in the National Library at Paris, and two fine Psalters now preserved in the library of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland, one of them written by monk Folchard in that monastery before the year 872, and the other written somewhat later at the same place, probably with the assistance of the famous calligrapher Sindram. The last mentioned Psalter is known as *"Psalterium aureum"* or Golden Psalter, either because it was written entirely with gold or because it was bound in gold. Its dimensions are 14 1-2x10 9-10 inches. It contains besides numerous exquisite initial letters executed in gold, nine full-page and even smaller pictures representing scenes of David's life in illustration of the text of the Psalms. Likewise was written in the ninth century King Aethelstan's (died 940) Psalter, now in the British Museum at London, which seems to have been intended for a prayer-book for private devotion. The famous "Utrecht Psalter," so called from its present location at the library of Utrecht, was written and illustrated at Hautvilliers, France, between the years 800 and 833. The superb pictures illustrate by representations of many persons and groups of people the meaning of the Psalms in such a graphic manner, that even illiterates or such who could not understand Latin can easily grasp the sense of the text.

Psalter prayer-books dating from the tenth century and once used by lay people are now preserved at Stuttgart, Amiens, and Boulogne. Others dating from the eleventh century are now found at Paris (Bibl. nat. lat. n. 8824), London (Harley, n. 603), and Kassel, Germany. This last one was written for Emperor Henry by his chaplain Marcus in the year 1020. Psalters dating from the twelfth century are preserved now at Cambridge, England (Trinity College), Rome (Vatican Library), Berlin and Hildesheim. The thirteenth century is represented by Psalters now found at Paris (Bibl. nat. lat. n. 8846 and n. 1077, and Arsenal n. 280), two Psalters used by St. Elisabeth of Thuringia, but written toward the close of the twelfth century (one of which is preserved at Stuttgart and the other at Cividale, Italy), Psalters now preserved at Berlin, Wolfenbuettel, Hamburg and Cologne, the psalter of Guy de Dampierre at Brussels, and five Psalters which had belonged once to St. Louis,

King of France. The oldest of these five Psalters is one of the finest manuscripts of the Middle Ages. It was written and illuminated at the beginning of the thirteenth century for Queen Ingeburg of France, and came into possession of King Louis by heritage. The second Psalter, now in Paris (Arsenal Library), belonged to King Louis' mother, Blanche of Castile. The third Psalter, now preserved at Leyden, Holland, was used by St. Louis in his boyhood as a first reader or primer. The fourth Psalter is preserved at Paris (Bibl. Nat. n. 10525) and the last in London. These are some of the notable illustrated Psalters among those still preserved in European libraries.

With the beginning of the thirteenth century the Psalter commenced to cease gradually to be the unrivalled, sole and exclusive layman's prayer-book. Up to that time praying from a book was equivalent to praying the Psalms. However, during the thirteenth century a new type of lay people's prayer-book was introduced which became in the course of time the most popular book of private devotion displacing the Psalter to the greater extent, though not entirely. *Nevertheless, the Psalter was still used as a favorite prayer-book by many lay people during the three centuries from 1220 to 1520 and long after.*

A notable characteristic of this later period is the ever increasing substitution of the vernacular Psalter to the Latin Book of Psalms in the hands of many lay people. Education was spreading more extensively during the later Middle Ages, but not so extensively the knowledge of Latin. Many a lay person found it accordingly more or less difficult to grapple with Latin Psalters. For their use and at their request the Psalter was translated into the vernacular. Hence the early translation of the Psalter into the different European languages were not made for scientific purposes, but first and last to provide lay people with appropriate prayer-books. Evidences of such early versions for private devotion are not wanting in the history of literature of all these people. French versions of the Psalms appeared as early as the seventh century. German versions go likewise back to the seventh and eighth centuries. Ancient Gaelic versions of the Psalms are found as early as the seventh century. Pope Adrian II (died 872) translated the Psalter partly into Italian in the ninth century. Later, the eastern and northern nations received translations of the Psalter in their vernacular from the first missionaries, as the Magyar in the eleventh century. However, statistical lists of all the German Psalters written and used previous to the year 1500, which are still extant, does not fall much short of one

hundred. A calculation based upon the usual rate of loss in books (94 per cent.) evinces that *no less than 1600 German handwritten Psalters had been in use from 1000 to 1500.* Undoubtedly, however, the actual sumtotal of German Psalters used during the last five centuries of the Middle Ages had been considerably larger; fashion in many cases had dictated that less nice copies were thrown away, so that many copies of German Psalters have disappeared without leaving the least trace. Finally, the steadily increasing demand for German Psalters was adequately met by the productions of the printer's art.

Priests and those in the lower ranks of the clergy were bound since the beginning of the sixth century to recite the breviary in the church and, when prevented from assisting at the solemn celebration in the church, to receive it in private. However, in the thirteenth century the custom originated to make the recitation of Psalms likewise obligatory upon certain classes of lay people.

The Fourth Lateran Council imposed in 1215 annual confession upon all the faithful who have arrived at the age of discretion. In compliance with this commandment of the church, people approached the Sacrament of Penance oftener than it had been customary up to that time. The penance which was imposed in confession by the priest was generally recitation of certain Psalms, if penitents could read the Psalter. Accordingly thousands of Catholic lay people had been obliged by their confessors, both before and after the Reformation, to pray from their Psalter some portions of the Psalms. Unfortunately priests have been forced in modern times to abandon this most laudable custom, since lay people as a rule do not use Psalters nowadays any more as prayer-books.

In 1221, St. Francis of Assisi prescribed in the Rule of the Third Order that those members who could read were obliged to say the Breviary every day, either in church or at home, and moreover, to pray fifty Psalms for the repose of every member who dies, and finally to pray the whole Psalter once a year for the living and deceased members of the order. *These rules had been in force for 662 years, from 1221 till 1883,* and in compliance with these regulations, thousands of tertiary lay men and lay women have been reading their Psalters year after year during more than six centuries.

The great number of confraternities and congregations of lay people, founded between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, invariably obliged by statutes the members who were enrolled, to

pray the Psalter, or at least portions of it, mostly the Penitential Psalms.

The custom of watching by the dead, or the wake, is a very ancient Christian observance which was attended with the chanting of Psalms. During the nine or ten first centuries the wake consisted uniformly in the chanting of the whole Psalter beside the dead person's corpse at his home. By appointing relays of chanters to succeed one another provision was made quite frequently that the corpse was never left without prayer. This practice of passing the night in psalmody beside the corpse, led during the eleventh and twelfth centuries to the development of the Office for the Dead, where portions extracted from other books of the Bible alternate with the Psalms. Nevertheless, the original custom of chanting or praying the Psalter was retained most widely throughout the Middle Ages, yet with this difference that boys were the chosen chanters for this office during the latter part of the Middle Ages. We quote only one instance. Margaret, Countess Palatine and wife of Elector Philip of the Palatinate, stipulated in her will, made in 1488, that her corpse should be laid out in the chapel of the castle and a number of boys should read the Psalter without any interruption till burial will take place (Anzeiger f. Kunde d. Vorzeit, VI, 1859, p. 375). In this way, many a poor scholar earned some money. It had been likewise an ancient custom to pass the night in praying the Psalter on the third, seventh and thirtieth day after the death and on its anniversary. This custom was likewise retained throughout the Middle Ages, but was not always kept as uniformly as the wake (Kirchenlex. IX, 787). Such nocturnal vigils belonged to the devotion of rulers as Charlemagne, Alfred, Godefroy de Bouillon, Louis VII of France, and many others.

The family prayer in the homes of the educated lay people consisted to the greater part of reading the Psalms. Even as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century, Blessed Thomas More (died 1535) retained this medieval custom and prayed with his family every evening four Psalms and had the Scriptures read during meal-time (Bridgett. Life of More, p. 140).

The Psalter continued to be the *First Reader in the schools,* St. Elizabeth of Hungary (born in 1207, died 1231) used to go to the church, at the age of five years, with a Psalter which she opened, although she could not yet read it. In this way the Psalter was placed into the hands of children as their first reader and their first prayer-book during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. However, at the beginning of the fifteenth century the

educational aims and methods were changed greatly by the Humanist Educators. Their aim was erudition and they displaced in many schools the medieval method of making the classical studies a means of adorning and moralising the lives of pupils. Latin was still regarded as the only medium of instruction, so that the youths of those days acquired a remarkable ease in speaking and writing Latin. In spite of the secular character of their schools, the Humanist Educators maintained in them a religious temper. The first subjects of instruction of children at the first stage of their education was, besides reading and writing, the Psalms, Creed, Lord's Prayer and Hymns learnt by heart. The more advanced scholars were provided with separate books of the Scriptures, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, or selections from the Bible as text-books to be used in schools. The choice of these Biblical books was limited for most part to the historical books, read as moral teachings as well as history. The famous Humanist teacher Vittorino da Feltre placed a Latin Psalter into the hands of Prince Alessandro Gonzaga (born 1427) at the age of four years, and a copy of the Four Gospels *in Greek* into the hands of Cecilia Gonzage (born 1425) at the age of seven years, when she had mastered already the Greek grammar. The Gospels with or without the Latin version written side by side served as the first Greek Reader (W. H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators* 2 edit.—Cambridge 1912, pp. 70, 141, 152, 200, 225, 226). Only after 1460 the classical text displaced the Scriptures entirely in the schools of the Humanists (op. cit. p. 210). Yet the dislike of Scripture did not become as general, as historians are wont to believe, among those later Humanists. *The Greek Bible was substituted for the Latin Vulgate in their hands.*

The strong demand for Psalter prayer-books was first adequately met by printing. The new art multiplied in rapid succession Psalters in Latin as well as in the vernacular. *We count from 1457 till 1500 no less than one hundred ninety-four different editions of the Psalter in Latin.* Of these 49 editions are in the large size of folio, 71 in quarto, 47 in octavo, 5 in duodecimo, 17 in 16mo, 1 in 24mo, and 4 in 32mo. All the Psalters in folio size are printed to be used as service books in choir, or for scientific purposes, whereas all the remaining smaller-sized Psalters with three exceptions were laymen's prayer-books for use at home or in church. The clergy had no need of Psalters for private use, since the Breviary they were obliged to pray daily, contained the entire Book of Psalms in Latin; they could most conveniently pray the Psalter from their

Breviary. Accordingly, at the very least *one hundred and forty-two (142) editions of the Latin Psalter, each edition consisting of no less than 500 copies, making a sumtotal of 71,000 copies, were printed for the laity and purchased and used by the laity prior to the year 1501.* As a matter of fact, all these 71,000 smaller-sized Latin Psalters were printed from 1470 to 1500, the larger-sized folios antedating them.

In addition to these Latin Psalters were printed at the demand of the laity and for their use, 6 editions of the Psalter in Latin with German translation, 16 editions in German without Latin text, 17 editions in Italian (some with Latin text), 14 editions in French (with or without Latin text), 7 editions in Flemish or Dutch, 3 in Greek (one of them with Latin text), 2 in Bohemian or Czech, 1 in Spanish, and 1 in Church Slavonic for the Catholics (Cracow in 1491), in all *67 editions or 33,500 separate copies of the vernacular Psalter.* We do not count one edition of the Psalter in Church Slavonic for the use of the Orthodox Christians, printed at Cettigne, Montenegro, in 1495, nor eight editions of the Psalter in Hebrew printed by and for Jews. The Psalters in Greek were printed for the Humanists who despised the Latin Vulgate as "barbaric translation." It was only in 1516 that an edition of the Greek Psalter was printed exclusively for scientific purpose (Bohatta, *Liturg. Bibliogr. d. XV. Jahrh., Wien 1911, pp. 48-59.*

From 1501 to 1520, at the very least, *102 editions* of the Book of Psalms were printed in fourteen different languages. One of these editions, the Polyglot Psalter edited by Aug. Justiniani (Geneva, 1516), contains seven different versions of the Psalter, three in Latin, one in Hebrew, one in Greek, one in Arabic. Three other editions contain each five different Latin versions of the Psalter (*Psalterium quincumplex,* Paris 1508, 1513, Caen 1515). John Potken's Polyglot Psalter (printed at Cologne 1518) contains four versions, Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic and Latin. Amerbach published in 1518 at Basel St. Jerome's three different Latin versions in a separate work. Finally, nine editions of the Latin Psalter are accompanied by a vernacular translation. Accordingly these 102 editions contain *in reality 134 different editions* of the whole Psalter.

According to the languages, the 102 editions are divided into 73 editions in Latin, 2 Polyglot editions, 2 editions in Hebrew, 1 edition in Aramaic (Chaldaic), 1 edition in Ethiopic, 1 edition in Armenian, 7 editions in Latin and German, 2 editions in German only, 4 Dutch editions, 2 in Latin and French, 2 editions in French only, 2 editions in Italian, 1 edition in Czech or Bohemian, 1 edition in Swedish, and

one in Church Slavonic. Eliminating 29 editions of the Psalter in Latin and 7 editions of the Psalter in Oriental languages, we have *a sumtotal of 44 editions of the Latin Psalter and 22 editions of the Psalter in European languages, each comprising at least one thousand copies or a total of 66,000 Psalters* which had been printed solely for the laity and purchased and used by the laity from 1501 to 1520 (Panzer. *Annales Typogr.*, vol. X, pp. 156-172).

The above figures must be regarded as established beyond any reasonable doubt. Yet after all they express only the minimum, as far as it can be ascertained in a most positive way. However, the actual output of printed Psalters had been considerably larger. First the average edition consisted of somewhat more than 1000 copies for the years 1501 to 1520. Then a number of editions have been completely used up and destroyed or have escaped the ken of the professional bibliographers. New finds will increase the above figures, almost every day adding new titles to the latest up-to-date list. Accordingly, we may state for certain that about 200,000 copies of Psalter prayer-books were printed for the exclusive use of lay people from 1470 till 1520. Most of these Psalters contained in addition to the 150 Psalms also ten Biblical Canticles extracted from the Books of Moses, Books of Kings, the Prophets and the Gospel of St. Luke.

Printing did not put a stop to the use of manuscript Psalters. In fact, there was pronounced predilection for hand-written prayer-books among the better educated classes of lay people all through the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The German Empress Mary Theresia (died 1780) never used a printed prayer-book, but always an artistic handwritten copy. As a matter of fact, the Psalter was transcribed by professional copyists for a long time after the invention of printing in the best medieval style and hand-written copies were used by Catholics *and Protestants alike,* in Europe as well as in America.

Of all the 150 Psalms the so-called *Seven Penitential Psalms* (Psal. 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142) enjoyed the greatest popularity among the laity. They were the first Psalms which were learnt by heart by the children in school and their recitation was imposed by priests upon penitents in confession as the most common penance. Besides numerous reprints in Breviaries and Books of Hours, we count *at least twenty separate editions,* 7 previous to 1501 and 13 from 1501 to 1520, with a *sumtotal of 16,500 different copies.*

According to language they are divided as follows: ten Latin editions, six Italian editions, one Dutch, one German, one Hebrew and

Latin and finally one Hebrew and Latin and German. Naturally, most of these small-sized booklets have perished and according to indications a much larger number of editions must have issued from the press prior to 1520. These editions of the Penitential Psalms have to be added to the above figures of editions of the complete Psalter. It is very striking that Martin Luther's first published work is a commentary on the Penitential Psalms in Latin (1517). From 1517 till 1520 Luther published four editions of the Penitential Psalms in Latin or German which are not included in the above figures.

A class of its own are the *"Boys' Psalters"* or first readers of children. It was a rule of all medieval school-regulations that pupils of the elementary schools studied the Latin Psalter by heart. Yet, these statutes are commonly misinterpreted as implying that these children committed to memory the entire Book of Psalms. Their Psalter, the so called "Boys' Psalter," contained only a more or less small selection of the most favorite Psalms. Of the large number of such Boys' Psalters printed before 1501 no more than two copies representing two different editions have escaped the ravages of time, one at the State Library of Munich, Germany, and the other at the Victor Emmanuel Library of Rome, Italy. The "Boys' Psalter" of Munich is a little volume of sixteen pages in quarto which was printed about 1490 at the Augsburg in Bavaria by Erhard Ratdolt. The first page of this interesting school-book gives the Latin Alphabet, and below, the text of the Pater Noster. The second page contains the Ave Maria, the Benedicite (grace before and after meals). The Ten Commandments and Seven Virtues, all in Latin. Then follows the Latin text of the Psalms, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, and 114 the Magnificat (Luk. I, v. 46-55), the Nunc Dimittis (Luk. II, v. 29-32), and Psalm 129. The last pages contain in Latin the Creed, the Salve Regina, the beginning of St. John's Gospel (John I, v. 1-14), the "Intoibo ad altare Dei" (server boys' Mass prayers) and a few short ejaculatory prayers. At the end the title is given: "Explicit psalterium puerorum." The second copy which is preserved in Rome was printed at Paris by Peter Levet in 1488. It is more than another time as large as the Munich copy consisting of forty pages in quarto size and containing in addition to the Biblical portions of the Munich copy a number of other Psalms and prayers in Latin. The title printed at the end reads "Explicit parvum psalterium pro pueris" or "Here ends the small Psalter for boys." Moreover, we know of two editions of "Boys' Psalters," printed in Italy between 1472 and 1475 which have been

completely destroyed, so that not a single copy is left any more (*Bibliofilia,* vol. XI, pp. 183, 185). Surely a number of other editions have perished entirely in the same way. However, we know for certain that *four editions consisting each of 500 copies or a sumtotal of 2000 Boys' Psalters* were printed prior to 1500 and were used up by boys and girls through constant wear and tear.

Yet large as these numbers of editions and copies of the Psalter prayer-book or portions thereof may look, they are vastly surpassed by the issues of the most popular prayer-book of medieval laity, the "Book of Hours."

As in other fields the thirteenth century brought about a change in the line of laymen's prayer-books. Men and women of all classes were accustomed to assist at the recitation of the Breviary or Divine Office, which were celebrated in all parish churches as well as cathedrals and monasteries throughout the Middle Ages. King Alfred of England, that model of heroes and wise kings, never let a day pass without assisting at the Divine Offices. To follow the ecclesiastics in chanting the Psalms, the lay people needed a Psalter and this is the reason why the Book of Psalms became their first prayer-book. The Benedictines had maintained and kept alive among the laity the custom of taking part in the recitation of the Divine Office and thereby had made the Psalter the one and only prayer-book of lay people. However, this close union of clergy and laity at prayer was loosened in the thirteenth century. Lay people demanded a greater variety of prayers in conformity with the Breviaries of the Franciscans and Dominicans; they wished to have short offices similar in construction to the longer offices of the Friars; they longed for new books of piety, new forms of prayer which would appeal better to them at their private devotions, especially before and after the reception of the Sacrament of Penance and Holy Communion and at the feasts of certain favorite Saints. All this was finally provided for them in the "Book of Hours."

The "Books of Hours" or "Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis" (Livres d'heures" in French, "Getydenboeck" in Dutch, "Libri d'ore" in Italian, "Primer" in English) received their name from the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary which forms the most important part of these laymen's prayer-books.

The "Cursus" or "Little Office of the Blessed Virgin" was first prayed by the Benedictines and Cluniacensian Monks during the latter half of the tenth century as a second office of the day and this form of devotion to Our Lady spread rapidly, so that it had found universal favor in the thirteenth century not only with the

monks and secular clergy, but also with the laity. It became the most *popular prayer-book used by the laity from the thirteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century,* and continued to be used till the beginning of the eighteenth century, the last edition in print having been issued in 1825.

Besides the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, the Books of Hours contained the Office for the Dead, the Seven Penitential Psalms and the Litany of all the Saints. These invariable features of the Books of Hours are augmented in nearly all extant manuscript copies by a variety of other devotions which were later repeated in the printed copies. Accretions of this kind are some other minor offices of the Passion, the Angels, the Conception of our Blessed Lady, of the Cross and the Holy Ghost, extracts from the Four Gospels (John I, v. 1-14, Luke I, v. 26-38, Matthew II, v. 1-12, Mark 16, v. 14-20), the Passion of Our Lord (John, chapt. 18-19) and prayers to God and the Saints. Many copies contain, moreover, the Fifteen Gradual Psalms (Pss. 119-133), and very many editions of the Livres d'heures, a French translation of the Seven Penitential Psalms and the Abbreviated Psalter made by St. Jerome.

Like the Psalter, the Book of Hours was also used as a first reading book for children. We know for certain that several editions of such small primers for pupils had been published in print before 1520; none, however, of these now survive. The large and complete Books of Hours were also used in many families as a first reader from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. This educational purpose of Books of Hours induced the sixteenth century printers to embody in very many editions the moral maxims, the A B C of the Christian, and sometimes a Greek alphabet for the benefit of children who were to study these pieces by heart. The "Heures" printed at Lyons in 1558 even discarded the time-honored Gothic characters substituting Roman letters, so that children could more easily learn to read from this book (Lacombe, *Livres d'Heures au XV et XVI siecle,* Paris 1907, p. LXVI-LXVII).

The "Books of Hours" which were used by noble and rich personages during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were all written on vellum and decorated by initial letters painted in gold and other colors and a number of exquisite miniatures and full-page representations of biblical scenes. These lavishly decorated and illuminated prayer-books were justly considered as treasures and were handed down in families from generation to generation. People who had been accustomed to pray from such artistically embellished hand-written books, could not help to despise

the productions of the printing press. However, enterprising printers succeeded in the course of time to issue "Books of Hours" decorated artistically to such a perfection that they could appeal to the good taste of those lovers of art.

The manuscript Books of Hours which are still preserved in European and American libraries were never accurately counted. They run up into the thousands. Father Steph. Beissel, S. J., gives a brief description of twenty of the most famous of these artistic treasures (*Stimmen aus Maria Leach,* LXXVII, 1909, pp. 170, 178, 274-277). However, every larger library preserves dozen of Books of Hours. There is no book auction of any note nowadays without several sales of precious manuscript Books of Hours.

Regarding the number of printed copies we are better informed. In 1478 the first edition of the Book of Hours appeared in print at Venice. From 1478 till 1500 at least 412 editions consisting of more than 206,000 copies were printed. From 1501 to 1520 no less than 625 editions or a sumtotal of 625,000 copies were issued from the press. In addition to these dated editions we count at least 20 editions without imprint or a sumtotal of 15,000 copies which were printed between 1478 and 1520. Accordingly *the "Book of Hours" was printed from 1478 till 1520 in 1057 editions and in 846,000 copies.* Classified according to languages, we count one edition (500 copies) in German, eleven editions (10,500 copies) in Greek, thirteen editions (10,000 copies) in Spanish, thirty-five editions (21,500 copies) in Dutch or Flemish, about one hundred editions in Latin, and the remaining 897 editions in French or French accompanied with Latin text. (A detailed list of these 1057 editions is given by Bohatta. *Bibliographie des Livres D'Heures, Wien* 1900, pp. 1-54 and Hoskins. *Horae B. M. Virginis or Sarum and York Primers,* London 1901, pp. XIII sq., XLI sq., pp. 1-22).

We must remind the readers again that these figures express only the lowest estimate or the numbers which can be ascertained in the most positive manner and that the actual output of printed Books of Hours had been considerably larger. New finds of hitherto hidden copies, especially of such printed between 1501 and 1520, will eventually raise the above figures. But even a certain proportion of editions will remain which have perished completely, but must be included in the final sumtotal.

The "Book of Hours" or the "Primer," as the Book of Hours of the Salisbury Use is called, writes the Rev. Edgar Hoskins, Rector of St. Martin's at Ludgate in London (*Horae B. M. Virginis,* London 1901, pp. XV), "was a layman's book of devotion

for private use either at home or at church." Many rubrics heading the prayers tell us that these prayers were to be used by lay people at home. "That the Hours of the Virgin," says the Rev. E. Hoskins (p. XVI)" besides being used at home were used privately by lay people in church is also evident, for an Italian who was traveling in England in the fifteenth century says: "Although Englishmen all attend Mass every day, and say many Pater Nosters in public, any one who can read taking the Office of Our Lady with him, and with some companion reciting it in the church verse by verse in low voice after the manner of religious." "We find," continues Rev. Hoskins (p. XVII) "that bequests were made to the laity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of Psalters, Primers and Portuases or portable Breviaries and it is plain from their contents that the owners of these books had it in their power to follow either the Hours of Divine Service (Breviary of the clergy) or the Hours of the Virgin when they were said publicly by the clergy in the church" in Latin.

This explains the fact that the English lay people only used Latin Books of Hours or Primers until the year 1535, when the first edition of the Hours in English was printed. From 1478 till 1500 were printed exclusively for Englishmen 26 editions or 13,000 copies and from 1501 till 1520 exactly 35 editions or 35,000 copies of the Books of Hours in Latin. Accordingly *60 per cent. of Latin Books of Hours printed before 1520 were bought and used by Englishmen.* From 1521 till 1535 were printed again 59 editions of the Latin Hours for Englishmen exclusively (Hoskins, op. cit., pp. 1-43).

Be it noted that the Books of Hours are mainly composed of Psalms and Lessons, the latter being extracts from other Books of Scripture besides the Psalter. These laymen prayer-books are exact copies of the Breviaries of the clergy; the different offices are composed of the same elements in both the Breviaries and Books of Hours. A layman who prayed from his Book of Hours conversed with God in the inspired words of King David's Psalms and in reading the various lessons he communed with God in the heavenly language of other inspired writers of the Sacred Scriptures. Since these offices of the Books of Hours, unlike the offices of the Breviary, were invariable, they were apt to be learned by heart and prayed with ease even by those who had little pretentions to scholarship. Nay, even thorough-going illiterates derived spiritual benefits from the use of these lavishly illustrated Books of Hours. As a matter of fact, many an owner of such a precious prayer-book could not under-

stand Latin nor, still less, could not read at all. The full-page representations of Biblical subjects served the purpose of stimulating their devotion and of supplying to them matter for quiet meditation and mental prayer. This is a thing which is completely overlooked now-a-days. These Biblical pictures were to the medieval laity what the Stations of the Cross are to the modern. They were used to impart to the minds of the lay people Scriptural Knowledge and this in a systematic way, since they were explained by the succession of feasts celebrated and sermons delivered in church.

There was always a tendency in the laity during the Middle Ages to take part in the recitation of the full Divine Office of the clergy or, where this could not be done, to follow more or less closely in their private devotions the liturgical prayers of the Church. The artistic illustrations of the Psalters used by lay people tell us in an unmistakable way of that affection of the laity for the Divine Office. The earliest Psalters were decorated only by large letters placed at the beginning of the 1st, 51st and 101st Psalms. These illustrations served only an artistic purpose. Since, however, it was a common practice of lay people throughout the Middle Ages to go to the church at night for Matins, large initial letters were placed later at the beginning of those seven Psalms with which Matins commences at the different days of the week, to assist thus lay people in finding the Psalms chanted by the clergy and to pray along. These Psalms were the 1st, 26th, 38th, 52nd, 68th, 80th, and 97th. For the same purpose initial letters were placed at the beginning of the Psalm 109, the first Psalm of Sunday Vespers Psalm 119, the first Gradual Psalm, Psalm 113 (In exitu), Psalm 136 (Super flumina), and the first Canticle. In this way the artistic embellishments of manuscript Psalters are an absolute proof of the use made of them by laymen in church, where the owners of such precious Psalters prayed the Psalms, chanted by the clergy, from their book and listened attentively to the reading of the lessons by the clergy and thereby took part in the recitation of the entire Divine Office without the use of a Breviary proper.

Laymen, however, who used the Book of Hours could not take part any more in the recitation of the Divine Office, which changed from day to day; their prayer-book did not include all the Psalms chanted by the clergy. Nevertheless, when praying the Little Office of The Blessed Virgin or the other offices from their Book of Hours, they were enabled both to bear part in the clergy's daily burden of prayer and also to copy somewhat the sevenfold daily orison of the Church's Divine Office.

Whilst the lay people recited these more strictly liturgical forms of prayer from their Psalters and Books of Hours at home and in church, they felt at the same time the needs of some special prayers for their private devotions. Hence it came to pass that the Psalters were supplemented from an early date by a number of prayers for the special use of laymen and lay women. These additions of private devotions to the Psalters are the unmistakable mark by which we can distinguish the laymen's Psalter prayer-books from the liturgical Psalters used as "service-books" by the clergy in public worship. From the eighth to the twelfth centuries, this appendix to the laymen's Psalters consisted of no more than the Litany of All Saints followed by some orations or invocations. At the beginning of the twelfth century the custom arose to supplement these prayers both by the addition of short Offices, namely the Office of the Blessed Lady, the Office for the Dead, and the Office of the Holy Ghost, and also by an addition of short and long prayers to the favorite saints. Finally, these accretions to the laymen's Psalter were collected into a separate book at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the so-called Book of Hours, which was to become henceforth the most popular prayer-book used by the laity during the Middle Ages.

In France and England the "Book of Hours" found practically no rival as a laymen's prayer-book. In all other countries, particularly in Germany, the Psalter was still widely used as a manual of prayers on the eve of the Reformation and long after that religious upheaval. However, in Germany the place of the "Book of Hours" or the "Horae" was taken by the so-called "Hortulus Animae" or Seelengaertlein, *i.e.*, "Little Garden of the Soul." Though differing somewhat in arrangement, the content of the "Hortulus" is mostly identical with that of the Book of Hours, viz.: the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, the usual extracts from the four Gospels, the Passion of Our Lord, the Penitential Psalms, the Litany of the Saints, and a long series of prayers to God, Our Lady and the other Saints, and particularly the Office for the Dead and prayers for the dying. Additions which are missing in the Books of Hours are a variety of private prayers, some of which have been still reprinted in the latest German prayer-books. Another new feature is the explanation of the Mass prayers which is found in many editions of the "Hortulus." This German laymen's prayer-book never gained the popularity in Germany which the Book of Hours enjoyed in France and England. The first edition of the "Hortulus" was published in Latin at Strassburg on March 13, 1498. The first edition in German was issued at Nuremberg in the year 1500 under

the title of "Seelen wurzgertlein." The "Hortulus" gained the widest circulation in Germany and became a very popular prayer-book of the laity to such an extent that it displaced the "Book of Hours." *We count five editions of the Hortulus printed from 1498 till 1500 and 63 (probably 64) editions issued from 1501 till 1520 which consisted of 66,000 copies at the very least.* Many (43) later editions were published from 1521 up to 1589, when the last, the 111th) edition was issued (Bohatta. *Bibliograph. Des Livres D'Heures.* Wien 1909, pp. 61-65). Since the Latin Hortulus found great favor in France and England soon after its first appearance in print, it was the cause that the French "Livres d'Heures" were recast before long. These remodelled "Livres d'Heures" caused in turn imitations in the "Hortulus," so that a greater uniformity was introduced into the two prayer-books, especially after the Hortulus was printed at Lyons in France in 1513 and the various publishers of the one book appropriated any feature found in the other which took their fancy.

In Italy the most favorite laymen's prayer-book on the Eve of the Reformation was the *"Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis."* If differed greatly from both the "Horae B. M. V." and the "Hortulus" in its contents, in its size, and general makeup. Whilst the "Horae" and "Hortulus" were brought out in sizes of 4to, 8vo, and 12mo, the "Officium" was issued in the pocket-size of 12mo, 16mo, 18mo, and the miniature size of 32mo. The edition of the "Officium B. M. V." was printed at Venice in 1472 in the small size of 16mo. The height of the printing surface is three and one-seventh inches with 14 lines to a page. In 1473 the first edition of the "Officium" in the miniature size of 32mo was published likewise at Venice. The printing surface measures two and one-seventh inches in height with 13 lines to a page. This extremely small size pleased the buyers so much that the "Officium" in 32mo was in greater demand than all others of somewhat larger size. Regarding the general makeup, these small sized manuals had as a rule no other artistic embellishment save black and red print. A few editions, however, of the 4to and 8vo sizes were brought out in the style of the "Livres D'Heures," adorned with Biblical representations full-page illustrations, artistic borders, and other ornaments, at Venice and Naples between 1473 and 1476. These later induced the French printers to reproduce their superbly illustrated "Books of Hours." The tiny manuals of the Office of Our Lady perished in even larger numbers than the highly artistic productions of the "Book of Hours." Yet, in spite of enormous losses we still preserve *copies*

of 82 different editions printed from 1472 till 1500, and 43 (probably 44 editions) printed from 1501 till 1520. The aggregate number of copies printed from 1472 till 1500 was at the very least 84,000. From 1521 till 1600 were printed 96 editions (Bohatta, *Bibliograph des Livres D'Heures,* Wien 1909, pp. 55-61). All these editions with but a few exceptions were published in Italy. There are some editions in Italian, but all the rest are in Latin. The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin is contained in all copies of the Officium B. M. V. The great majority of editions included, moreover, the Office for the Dead, the Office of the Cross, and the Holy Ghost, the Seven Penitential Psalms, and the beginning of the Gospel of St. John I, v. 1-14). Some others contained the Mass prayers, while again others gave the Passion of Our Lord from the Gospel of St. John. Each and every of these 84,000 copies had been printed for and bought by lay people, since the clergy had no use for those tiny prayer-books. Most of these Latin "Officia B. M. V." were purchased by members of the different Third Orders who had obliged themselves to recite daily the Little Office of the Blessed Lady in Latin.

Alcuin was apparently the first man to compile a laymen's prayer-book, where special devotions are given for each day of the week. This eighth century manual of piety contained nothing but a number of Psalms followed by a variety of orations arranged in a systematic manner according to the different objects which he had assigned to the several days of the week. It was too long and too uniform and did not take with the laity. His weekly arrangement was conspicuously revived towards the close of the fifteenth century, when laymen's prayer-books multiplied which contain seven offices, one for each day of the week. The Vatican Library preserves such a manuscript Book of Hours for a week which has the Office of the Trinity for Sunday, Office of Eternal Wisdom for Monday, Office of the Holy Ghost for Tuesday, Office of God's Mercy for Wednesday, Office of Blessed Sacrament for Thursday, Office of the Passion for Friday, and the Office of the Compassion of Mary for Saturday. This Book of Offices was written and adorned with Biblical illustrations about the year 1500, at a time when similar books had appeared already in print. To this class of laymen's prayer-books belongs the *"Cursus B. M. Virginis,"* printed and used in Germany. It contains seven offices of the Blessed Lady thereby differing from the Books of Hours and the Officium. The Cursus first appeared in print in 1485. From that date till 1500, fourteen editions were issued and from 1501 till 1520 six, and three more from 1521 till 1533, when the last

impression was issued. *At least 13,000 copies of the "Cursus" were printed from 1485 till 1520,* of which 3 editions or 1500 copies were in German, and one edition or 500 copies in Dutch or Flemish (Bohatta, *Bibliog. D'Heures,* p. 67).

Besides these laymen prayer-books the medieval book-sellers placed on the market a great variety of miscellaneous manuals of piety for lay people, which consist likewise mainly of Psalms and lessons taken from the Bible and which bear twenty-three different titles. They are handy manuals of pocket size ranging from 100 to 400 pages. To this class belong the *Cursus hinc inde collecti* (6 editions before 1500), *Cursus sparsim in devotionum libellis inventi* (1 edition with illustrations on the style of the Hortulus), *Cursus per totam septimanam* (1 edition before 1500), *Cursus et Orationes* (1 edition before 1500), *Officium Breve Quotidianum* (2 editions before 1500) *Officium sive Collectio Precum* (1 edition before 1500), *Orationale seu Paradisus Animae nuncupatum* (4 editions before 1500), *Compendium Deprecationum* (2 editions before 1500 and 1 edition in 1505), *Opsus familiare* (1 edition before 1500), *Orationes Sacrae* (1 edit. before 1500), *Preces Latinae* (Paris 1519), *Liber Precum* (about 1510), *Officia quotidiana* (2 editions before 1500), *L'Ordinaire des Chrestiens* (9 editions before 1500), *Gebetbuechlein* (7 editions before 1500), *Sontaegliche Gebete* (1 edition before 1500), *Libro de Compagnie overo di Fraternita di Battuti* (4 editions before 1500), *Uffizio di Morti* (1 edit. before 1500), *Ghetiden* (not Book of Hours) (6 editions before 1500), *Orationes Spirituales, Vigiles des Morts, Heures de Jesus-Christ and Matins en Francois.* Accordingly *from 1470 to 1520 were printed 60 editions consisting of 31,500 copies* of laymen's prayer-books belonging to this class of miscellaneous manuals of piety. Of these 26 editions were in Latin, 15 in French, 8 in German, 6 in Dutch, and 5 in Italian.

Laymen's prayer-books consisting of selections of Psalms and Biblical Lessons were even issued in the form of pamphlets of small size. This class is composed of editions of various *"Officia Propria"* which were not found in the popular prayer-books. We know of 42 editions printed before 1500, and 12 editions from 1501 to 1520. They are small brochures ranging from 16 to 50 pages and bearing different titles as "Officium," "Historia," and "Servitium." Ten editions of these Offices served liturgical purposes and were supplements to the Breviary as is evinced by their ecclesiastical approbation. The remainder of editions was printed for lay people to be prayed by them in private. Accordingly we must set down

as laymen's manuals of prayer *32 editions of Offices printed before 1500 and 12 printed from 1501 till 1520 making a sumtotal of 28,000 copies.* Four editions or 4000 copies are in German, one edition of 500 copies is in Italian and the remainder in Latin.

Finally summing up all these particulars, we have a grand total of *1673 editions and 1,257,500 copies of laymen's prayer-books printed from 1470 till 1520.* We have to remind the reader that even these high figures are actually too low an estimate, since new finds will raise them before long. There are still a large number of copies hidden away escaping the ken of bibliographers. Moreover, we have to make allowance for a certain percentage of editions which have been completely destroyed to such an extent they neither a single copy nor a historic record will ever vouch for their former existence.

Taking the above figures which represent an ascertained minimum as the basis of a statistical calculation, we will gain these interesting facts. In 1470 there were living in Europe no more than from 65 to 70 million Catholics. From 1470 till 1520 lived and died at the highest 130 millions of Catholics in Europe forming 23,600,000 Catholic families at the ideal average of 5½ persons to a family consisting of father, mother, three children and an occasional grandfather or grandmother or aunt or uncle. *The average number of a laymen's prayer-book to a family was exactly 18.76, so that at least every nineteenth family possessed a printed prayer-book.*

However, the truer average was still more favorable. We must deduct from the total of 130 millions about a half of a million of clergymen in minor and major orders, and the religious of both sexes.

Again we must deduct about 725,000 families (or 4 millions of persons) of the nobility and wealthy bourgeoisie which possessed each and every one handwritten Psalters or Books of Hours and would not use printed prayer-books. *According to this computation* the average number was exactly *18.14, so that practically every eighteenth family of the rather poorer classes was the owner of a printed prayer-book.*

Children under 6 years formed 15 per cent. of the total population. A calculation upon this basis furnishes the result that *every 88th person of 6 years and over must be credited with the possession of a printed prayer-book, or every 85th person of 6 years and over of the rather poorer classes.* Surely, the Catholic people were not as bookless on the Eve of the Reformation as historians would have us believe.

Our bibliographical survey brings out most strikingly the fact that down to the time of the Reformation and long after the Psalter in its entirety or a prayer-book consisting mainly of Psalms and other portions of the Bible was the type of a manual of prayers used *exclusively* by the laity, the few prayer-books which do not contain textual extracts from Scripture forming a negligible quantity. Yet, even these latter manuals, the precursors of our modern prayer-books, are entirely inspired by the Bible or like the "Corona B. M. Virginis" only a free rendering of certain Psalms or like the "Psalterium B. M. Virginis" a recast of the Psalms applying them constantly to Mary, but retaining the first words of each verse.

This extensive use of the Bible as a laymen's prayer-book made the laity familiar with the Sacred Text to such an extent that they could readily understand the numerous Scriptural allusions made by their preachers in their sermons, such a wealth of allusions as to mystify a modern audience. This great familiarity of lay people with the Bible enabled medieval preachers to draw abundant quotations from Scripture with telling effect. There are ten quotations in a medieval sermon to one in a modern sermon and besides the whole composition is imbued with Scripture, states the Anglican Divine J. M. Neale (*Mediaeval Preachers* p. XXV, XXVII). Such sermons could only be relished by people of extensive Scriptural knowledge and now-a-days would be out of place in our churches. The Book of Psalms, the prayer-book of medieval laity, exerted a great influence upon Christian arts and contributed very much especially to the development of its symbolism. This explains the reason why the medieval artists displayed in their works, at church and at home, such a varied symbolism drawn from Scripture; they knew that the lay people who saw or bought their wroks, were able to understand their artistic and Biblical language. Our modern non-Catholic "expert" connoisseurs blunder now and then most egregiously, when they try to explain what was plain as daylight to the medieval laity. The Berlin Museum preserves a statue representing the Annunciation of Our Blessed Mother. We see there that Mary holds the fabulous unicorn, *i.e.,* Christ. A modern connoisseur of art put the inscription below: "Wood statue representing a woman with a goat," as if the goats at Berlin had a horn in the center of the fore-head! But perhaps the most striking proof that the Scriptures were not hidden from the laity is furnished by Luther himself. He was compelled to use Biblical phrases in his writings to gain the people to his cause. The common people were too much impregnated with the language of the Bible to be swayed

by the language of philosophy unlike our contemporaries. The Lutheran Minister, John Valentin Andreae (died 1654), wrote of the German Protestants of the seventeenth century: "The regular recurring prayers are abolished yet so that now most pray not at all." And this disuse was precisely the main cause of ignorance of Scripture prevailing now among Protestants.

JOHN M. LENHART, O. M. Cap.

GREAT AMERICANS AND WHY

(Patrick Henry)

Born May 29, 1736

MANY a great man is celebrated for one out-standing moment of his life. The world remembers that one thing about him. But as to what preceded or what followed, its cause and its effect, are forgotten, so that the deed itself stands outlined against the sky of memory, like a mountain top rising above a belt of thick cloud.

So it is with that most brilliant event in the life of Patrick Henry. Generations of schoolboys know that he once made a ringing speech ending with the words "Give me liberty, or give me death." They have recited it themselves, and if possible, have visited the old church at Richmond in which the soul-stirring plea was made.

But who was Patrick Henry, that he should spring to his feet on that memorable March 23, 1775, and pour forth a flood of brilliant eloquence that stirred his hearers to united action? What was the occasion for this plea, and what its result?

Some one has called Patrick Henry "the trumpeter of the Revolution." Not alone because of his speech of 1775, however. Ten years before he had dared stand up in the Virginia House of Burgesses and defy not only the Stamp Act measure, but the opinion of those cautious, loyal members of the House who regarded any resistance of royal orders as treason. This intervening decade was one of growing leadership with him.

Here is an incident of that period that shows the moving power of his eloquence; it is related by a certain Major Scott, and occurred at Williamsburg, Virginia:

"Mr. Henry was declaiming against the British King and ministry, and such was the effect of his eloquence that all at once the spectators in the gallery rushed out. It was at first supposed that the house was on fire. Not so. But some of the more prominent of these spectators ran up into the cupola and dowsed the royal flag which was there suspended."

So we may safely assume that this lawyer and legislator was often speaking on patriotic subjects as he rode back and forth and across the country, making speeches of which no records survive.

The name of Patrick Henry is practically synonymous with oratory. He has been called "The Orator of Nature," because his manner of speaking was inspired by his own thoughts and feelings, because he had none of the set mannerisms of the trained "elocutionist." To be sure, he lived in those stirring times that bred orators, men who thought and felt deeply on public welfare matters. That he should excel his competitors proves him a mighty orator indeed.

The biographers of Patrick Henry agree that he came honestly by his abilities. His mother was a Winston, and her brother William was credited with oratorical powers equal to Patrck Henry's. It is said that during the French and Indian war, shortly after Braddock's defeat, when the militia was marched to the frontiers of Virginia, "this William Winston was a lieutenant of a company; that the men were indifferently clothed, without tents, and exposed to the rigour and inclemency of the weather, discovered great aversion to the service, and were anxious and even clamorous to return to their families; when this same William Winston, mounting a stump (the common rostrum of the field orator of Virginia), addressed to them with such keenness of invective, and declaimed with such force of eloquence on liberty and patriotism, that when he concluded the general cry was: 'Let us march on! Lead us against the enemy!' and they were now willing, nay, anxious, to encounter all those difficulties and dangers which, but a few moments before, had almost produced a mutiny."

But it was not alone from the Winstons that Patrick Henry "got the trick of his tongue." There was Celtic blood on his father's side, as his name indicates. In fact, Captain John Henry, the father of Patrick, born in Aberdeen, Scotland, was second cousin to the mother of the famous Lord Brougham, which makes Patrick Henry a third cousin of the great English advocate whose vehement tongue led to English anti-slavery reform and English parliamentary reform.

The Henrys were Celtic, the Winstons were of Welsh stock. Either side could have given Patrick his vivacity of spirit, his conversational talent, his gift of eloquence, his instinct for the dramatic, which were so happily combined in this great colonial orator.

The early years of Patrick's life gave little hint of the celebrated champion he was to become. He seems to have been a normal boy, more fond of rod and gun than of books. He was named in honor of his uncle, the Rev. Patrick Henry,—whence the Jr. he tacked to

his name for years. By the combined efforts of Uncle Patrick, father John, and the small school in this section of the Virginia county of Hanover, at the age of fifteen young Patrick acquired some knowledge of Latin, Greek, mathematics, history.

Patrick Henry left almost no records of his own life, but through John Adams we learn that the Virginia orator had, at the age of fifteen, read Virgil and Livy in the original. Hence it is allowable to surmise that liberty and republicanism got into his head by way of old Rome, as well as by breaching the breach of that something which dwelt in the wilderness." It is on record that Patrick had a most retentive memory; not for verbatim passages, however, but for the facts, or sentiments, he culled from history or poetry, which he restated in his own expressive language.

He was never given to boasting, and was quite willing to be known as one of the common people, and some of the more cultured folk of his day, such as Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, were inclined to look upon him as poorly educated, for all they must marvel at the man's command of language. Jefferson admitted "How he obtained the knowledge of it I never could find out, for he read little, and conversed little with educated men." But Lincoln has been similarly discredited as a scholar, while Jefferson, the most accomplished man of his times, was no orator.

Both Patrick Henry and Abraham Lincoln were Liberty's spokesmen, and prove that when a man's heart and brain are fired with high, unselfish, humanitarian principles, he has no difficulty in finding the words to express his ideas. Both were devoted readers of the Bible, which alone would account for the lofty style of their oratorical diction.

"Not a scholar, surely," says one of Patrick Henry's biographers, "not even a considerable miscellaneous reader, he yet had the basis of a good education; he had the habit of reading over and over again a few of the best books; he had a good memory; he had an intellect strong to grasp the great commanding features of any subject; he had a fondness for the study of human nature, and a singular proficiency in that branch of science; he had quick and warm sympathies, particularly with persons in trouble,—an invincible propensity to take sides with the under-dog in any fight."

So equipped, at the age of twenty-four, after nine years of groping in the dark toward his real vocation, Patrick Henry decided to take up the study of law. After one month's study of Coke upon Littleton and the Virginia laws, he succeeded in getting a license to practice law, chiefly, he once confessed, because he out-

argued one of the examiners,—none other than the courtly, polished, witty, learned John Randolph.

Success was not immediate, and at the end of four years he was still as poor and unknown as he had been when he applied for his license. Then came a case that enabled him to attain fame. The side he was on was wrong, according to law and equity, but it happened to be one in which law itself was in error.

This celebrated *Parson's Cause* was a controversy between the clergy and the Legislature of the state, relating to salaries claimed by the former,—which were then paid by the commonwealth and not by congregations. Young Henry took part against the clergy. His biographer Wirt has described the scene most vividly:

"The array before Mr. Henry's eyes was most fearful. On the bench sat more than twenty clergymen, the most learned men in the colony. The court-house was crowded with an overwhelming multitude, and surrounded with an immense and anxious throng. In the chair of the presiding magistrate sat no other person than his own father . . . He arose very awkwardly and faltered much in his exordium. The people hung their heads, the clergy exchanged sly looks, and his father almost sank with confusion from his seat.

"But these feelings were of short duration, and soon gave place to others of a very different character. For now were those wonderful faculties which he possessed for the first time developed; and now was first witnessed that mysterious and almost supernatural transformation of appearance which the fire of his own eloquence never failed to work in him. For, as his mind rolled along, and began to glow from its own actions, all the exuviae of the clown seemed to shed themselves spontaneously. His attitude, by degrees, became erect and lofty. The spirit of his genius awakened all his features. His countenance shone with a nobleness and grandeur which it had never before exhibited. There was a lightning in his eyes which seemed to rive the spectator. His action became graceful, bold, and commanding; and in the tones of his voice, but more especially in his emphasis, there was a peculiar charm, a magic, of which any one who ever heard him will speak as soon as he is named, but of which no one can give any adequate description. They can only say that it struck upon the ear and upon the heart, in a manner which language cannot tell. Add to all these, his wonder-working fancy, and the peculiar phraseology in which he clothed its images; for he painted to the heart with a force that almost petrified it."

As for his argument, in this matter, as in all big topics that commanded his attention, he was guided by the future. He assailed the laws passed by the Virginia House of Burgesses, and though the clergy and their lawyer cried "treason," he kept right on. When he attacked the worldly clergy as grasping and unchristian, they filed out of the court-house. But his audience remained, hanging upon his words throughout the hour he spoke. He touched on the bondage of the people, and warned the jury that unless they seized upon the opportunity now at hand to sustain the liberties of the Commonwealth, they would rivet their own chains, perpetuate their own servitude.

It took considerable courage to speak out against the King, and against the clergy of a church established by law. But we know now he was right, that he already foresaw the time when there would be neither king nor Established Church in America. The people felt he was right, too. At the close of his address they seized Henry and carried him into the court-yard in a kind of triumph. His father, quite forgetting where he was, sat in his magistrate's chair with tears of ecstacy running down his cheeks.

Naturally, this speech made him some enemies. But its effect was lasting, and for the public good. It gave impetus to popular government and "may be said in a certain sense to have been the commencement of the Revolution in Virginia; and Hanover, where dissent had appeared, was the starting-point."

Too, it lifted the Orator of the Revolution out of obscurity. Eighteen months later, on May 20, 1765, Patrick Henry became a member of the House of Burgesses. That august body had plenty to worry about,—namely, what to do with the Stamp Act, which was to go into effect on November 1st.

Now there was much discontent over the measure in Virginia. But the leading men,—the aristocrats, mainly,—were so afraid of appearing disloyal that it did not occur to them to "do other than curb their tongues, talk in whispers when criticising His Majesty, and write guardedly when sending their protests to London. There was much indignation against King and Parliament, but every man of high influence shrank from the odium that seemed sure to follow the cry "Resist!" It was Patrick Henry who spoke the word—who raised the cry.

For days the question had been left unmentioned. Then, on May 29th, which was also Patrick Henry's twenty-ninth birthday, Burgess George Johnston, of Fairfax,—lawyer, scholar, man of character and champion of liberty,—took the floor moving that the

Stamp Act be brought up for consideration. In doing this he was co-operating with Patrick Henry who seconded the motion and introduced a series of resolutions which declared that the House of Burgesses and the executive had "the exclusive right and power to lay taxes and imposts upon the inhabitants of this colony"; and that, consequently, the Stamp Act, and all other acts of parliament effecting the rights of the American colonies, were unconstitutional and void.

The resolutions were received with vehemence, both for and against. Patrick Henry led the defence, and "he was equal to the task he had assumed." Now at length he had a theme worthy of himself—not confined by technical rules or provincial limits, but broad as the British Empire, affecting the rights of mankind, and appealing at once to the highest powers of the intellect and the warmest feelings of the heart. He rejoiced in his subject, and grasping it like a giant he expanded it before his astonished hearers, until its sublimity began to force itself upon them. His words were pregnant with a nation's freedom.

"He reasoned upon the chartered rights of the colony; he unfolded the written grants of English monarchs, even in the age of servitude, and showed the clauses guaranteeing the privileges of America. He explored the depths of the British Constitution, and, by long-established precedents, proved the connection between taxes and the free consent of the people; then leaving charters and human conventions, he entered upon an inquiry into the natural rights of man, and announced doctrines then almost unheard, but which have since become the basis of our government."

His nerve and resolution were equal to his eloquence. In the midst of the debate he thundered that outburst that shows his perfect mastery of the situation,—that "warning flash from history": He had been denouncing the injustice and the impolicy of the Stamp Act. Suddenly he exclaimed, in clear, bell-tones:

"Caesar has his Brutus; Charles the First, his Cromwell; and George the Third—"

"Treason!" came in a shout from the Speaker, high on his dais. "Treason! Treason!" cried Burgesses from all sides of the room.

The orator paused in stately defiance till these rude exclamations were ended, and then, rearing himself up with a look and bearing of still prouder and fiercer determination, he so closed the sentence as to baffle his accusers without in the least flinching from his own position,—"And George the Third may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it."

The resolutions passed, and they, as well as the fiery words of their champion, thoroughly roused the colonists to resistance, all up and down the Atlantic border. Eight colonies adopted similar resolutions, in some instances using the identical wording of Patrick Henry's.

"Mr. Henry," says Thomas Jefferson, "certainly gave the first impulse to the ball of the Revolution." Edmund Randolph wrote "On May 29, 1765, Mr. Henry plucked the veil from the shrine of parliamentary omnipotence. Woodrow Wilson comments: "Henry's words were the first words of a revolution, and no man ever thought just the same after he had read them."

Patrick Henry almost never kept any memoranda concerning himself or his work. But with his will was found a sealed letter endorsed: "Inclosed are the resolutions of the Virginia Assembly, in 1765, concerning the Stamp Act. Let my executors open this paper." On the back of the paper, containing the resolutions as adopted by the House, was the following statement, which not only proves the writer to be a man of education and of high patriotism, but is a sermon worthy the attention of all Americans for all time:

"The within resolutions passed the House of Burgesses in May, 1765. They formed the first opposition to the Stamp Act and the scheme for taxing America by the British Parliament. All the colonies, either through fear, or from influence of some kind or other, had remained silent.

"I had been for the first time elected a Burgess a few days before, was young, inexperienced, unacquainted with the forms of the House, and the members that composed it. Finding the men of weight averse to opposition, and the commencement of the tax at hand, and that no person was likely to step forth, I determined to venture, and alone, unadvised, and unassisted, on a blank leaf of an old law-book, wrote the within.

"Upon offering them to the House, violent debates ensued. Many threats were uttered, and much abuse cast on me by the party for submission. After a long and warm contest the resolutions passed by a very small majority, perhaps of one or two only. The alarm spread throughout America with astonishing quickness, and the Ministerial party were overwhelmed.

"The great point of resistance to British taxation was universally established by the colonies. This brought on the war which finally separated the countries and gave independence to ours.

"Whether this will prove a blessing or a curse, will depend upon the use our people make of the blessings which a gracious God hath

bestowed upon us. If they be wise, they will be great and happy. If they are of a contrary character, they will be miserable. Righteousness alone can exalt them as a nation. Reader! whoever thou art, remember this, and in thy sphere practice virtue thyself, and encourage it in others.—P. Henry."

On the very afternoon of his victory, Patrick Henry left Williamsburg for his home, having been ten days a member of the House of Burgesses. He was seen "passing along Duke of Gloucester Street, wearing buckskin breeches, his saddle bags on his arm, leading a lean horse, and chatting with Burgess Paul Carrington, who walked by his side. "The least pretentious man in all Virginia, certainly her greatest orator, perhaps even her greatest statesman."

From this time he was a power in the state, and the scepter of power formerly held by the wealthy planters of the commonwealth was in the hands of this county court lawyer. He was the mouthpiece of resistance, the representative of the masses as distinguished from the aristocracy, and a political power his enemies could not overcome.

The Stamp Act was repealed, but the spirit that prompted it remained unchanged. England continued to regard the colonies as an offspring that must obey her tyrannical orders. So for ten years Patrick Henry's abilities as a statesman were in great demand in Virginia. He had a leading part in all the counsels of the time, whether in the House of Burgesses, local committees and conventions, or a deputy to the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia, always displaying business-like and lawyer-like qualities when elocution was not in demand.

It was on Thursday, March 23, 1775, in the second revolutionary convention of Virginia assembled at Richmond, that Patrick Henry took the floor and moved that the militia should be organized and the "Colony be immediately put into a state of defense." One marvels that his resolutions met with opposition, since it was not only a revolutionary convention, but his motions contained nothing that had not been already approved by other colonies and even other counties in Virginia.

Some historians believe the opposition was to Patrick Henry himself, as a leader, also that while other colonies and conventions had only recognized the probability of war, Patrick Henry would have this convention virtually declare war itself.

Once more Patrick Henry was ahead of his contemporaries. But opposition only roused him the more, gave him occasion for his master-stroke in oratory, beginning with that courteous compliment "No man thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as the abilities, of the very honorable gentlemen who have just addressed the House," and ending with that impassioned battle cry "Give me liberty, or give me death!"

The words are hackneyed from being much repeated, for more than a hundred years they have been parodied and bandied about by the humorists. Yet, if we read it as though we had never heard it before, some of the sentences sing like bits of melody.

Then, we must remember how the orator threw himself into his part, body and soul, making his hearers exultant, grim, firmly resolved to follow his lead.

There are two descriptions by eye-witnesses that memorable day in St. Johns Church, Richmond. Here is the report of a Baptist clergyman:

"Henry arose with an unearthly fire burning in his eye. He commenced somewhat calmly,—but the smothered excitement began to play more and more upon his features, and thrill in the tones of his voice. The tendons of his neck stood out white and rigid like whipcords. His voice rose louder and louder, until the walls of the building and all within them seemed to shake and rock in its tremendous vibrations. Finally his pale face and glaring eyes became terrible to look upon. Men leaned forward in their seats, with their heads strained forward, their faces pale and their eyes glaring like the speaker's. His last exclamation—'Give me liberty, or give me death'—was like the shout of the leader who turns back the rout of battle. When he sat down, I felt sick with excitement. Every eye yet gazed entranced on Henry. It seemed as if a word from him would have led to any wild explosion of violence. Men looked beside themselves."

And now John Roane: "You remember the conclusion of the speech, so often declaimed in various ways by school boys—'Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!'

"He gave each of these words a meaning which is not conveyed by the reading or delivery of them in the ordinary way. When he said, 'Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?' he stood in the attitude of a condemned galley slave, loaded with fetters, awaiting his doom. His

form was bowed; his wrists were crossed; his manacles were almost visible, as he stood like an embodiment of helplessness and agony.

"After a solemn pause, he raised his eyes and chained hands toward heaven, and prayed, in words and tones which thrilled every heart, 'Forbid it, Almighty God!' He then turned toward the timid loyalists of the House, who were quaking with terror at the idea of the consequences of partaking in proceedings which would be visited with the penalties of treason by the British crown, and he slowly bent his form yet nearer to the earth, and said, 'I know not what course others may take', and he accompanied the words with his hands still crossed, while he seemed to be weighed down with additional chains.

"The man appeared transformed into an oppressed, heart-broken, and hopeless felon. After remaining in this posture of humiliation long enough to impress the imagination with the condition of the colony under the iron heel of military despotism, he arose proudly, and exclamed, 'But as for me,'—and the words hissed through his clenched teeth, while his body was thrown back, and every muscle and tendon was strained against the fetters which bound him, and with his countenance distorted by agony and rage he looked for a moment like Laocoon in a death struggle with coiling serpents; then the loud, clear, triumphant tones, 'give me liberty,' electrified the assembly.

"It was not a prayer, but a stern demand, which would submit to no refusal or delay. The sound of his voice, as he spoke these memorable words, was like that of a Spartan paean on the field of Plateau; and, as each syllable of the word 'liberty' echoed through the building, his fetters were shivered; his arms were hurled apart; and the links of his chains were scattered to the winds.

"When he spoke the word 'liberty,' with an emphasis never given it before, his hands were open, and his arms elevated, and extended; his countenance was radiant; he stood erect and defiant; while the sound of his voice and the sublimity of his attitude made him appear a magnificent incarnation of Freedom, and expressed all that can be acquired or enjoyed by nations and individuals invincible and free.

"After a momentary pause, only long enough to permit the word 'liberty' to cease, he let his left hand fall powerless to his side, and clenched his right hand firmly, as if holding a dagger with the point aimed at his breast. He stood like a Roman Senator defying Caesar, while the unconquerable spirit of Cato of Utica flashed from

every feature; and he closed the grand appeal with the solemn words 'or give me death!' which sounded with the awful cadence of a hero's dirge, fearless of death and victorious in death; and he suited the action to the word by a blow upon the left breast with the right hand which seemed to drive the dagger to the patriot's heart."

One more tribute, this from Edmund Randolph: "Henry was his pure self. Those who had toiled in the artifices of scholastic rhetoric were involuntarily driven to an inquiry within themselves, whether rules and forms and niceties of elocution would not have choked his native fire. It blazed so as to warm the coldest heart. In the sacred place of meeting, the church, the imagination had no difficulty to conceive, when he launched forth in solemn tones various causes of scruples against oppressors, that the British King was lying prostrate from the thunder of heaven. Henry was thought in his attitude to resemble St. Paul, while preaching at Athens, and to speak as a man was never known to speak before.

"After every illusion had vanished, a prodigy yet remained. It was Patrick Henry, born in obscurity, poor, and without the advantage of literature, rousing the genius of his country, and binding a band of patriots together to hurl defiance at the tyranny of so formidable a nation as Great Britain. This enchantment was spontaneous obedience to the working of the soul.

"When he uttered what commanded respect for himself, he solicited no admiring look from those who surrounded him. If he had, he must have been abashed by meeting every eye fixed upon him. He paused, but he paused full of some rising eruption of eloquence. When he sat down, his sounds vibrated so loudly, if not in the ears, at least in the memory of his audience, that no other member, not even his friend who was to second him, was yet adventurous enough to interfere with that voice which had so recently subdued and captivated."

The resolutions were passed. And as he had foretold, the war was actually begun. Within less than a month the Battle of Lexington had been fought, within six weeks Patrick Henry was making a speech to men in hunting shirts, armed for battle.

Virginia's first overt act of war, says Thomas Jefferson "was Mr. Henry's embodying a force of militia from several counties, regularly armed and organized, marching them in military array, and making reprisal on the King's treasury at the seat of government for the public powder taken away by the Governor.

From orator and soldier, Patrick Henry became statesman and public servant. He was a delegate to the convention which met in May, 1776, and instructed the Virginia deputies to the general congress to propose to that bdoy to "declare the united colonies free and independent states." That same year he was elected the first republican governor of Virginia. After three years he returned to the legislative body, until he was again elected governor.

His last public speech was made just three months before his death, at Charlotte Court House, in which he made this last plea to his native state, then in revolt against the Alien and Sedition laws:

"You can never exchange the present government but for a monarchy. If the Administration have done wrong, let us all go wrong together. Let us trust God and our better judgment to set us right hereafter. United we stand, divided we fall. Let us not split into factions which must destroy that union upon which our existence hangs. Let us preserve our strength for the French, the English, the Germans, or whoever else shall dare invade our territory, and not exhaust it in civil commotions and intestine wars."

His last public act was worthy this great orator and true patriot.

Patrick Henry was undoubtedly one of the most extraordinary men of an extraordinary epoch. He had a natural genius for moving men, due, mainly, to his own moral courage. To that mysterious eloquence which swayed and took captive all minds, he united a nerve and resolution which when thoroughly aroused were indomitable.

In his private life he was kindly, good-humored, agreeable, temporate, frugal, a devout Christian, a simple man, a plain citizen, a good neighbor. His last years were spent on his estate, Red Hill, which he considered "one of the garden spots of the world."

H. W.

PYSCHOLOGY—PYSCHO-ANALYSIS

THE greatest victory of modern psychology has undoubtedly been the realization of the unconscious as a psychological fact. There is evidence enough that this discovery is genuine; as, for instance, that we find the unconscious not at all like our conception of it, and that it astonishes us; astonishment is one of the most reliable signs of a genuine revelation. The revelation is not yet science, however; we have seen the unconscious as Livingston saw Central Africa, and with much the same emotions; but the time when we can map it out is still far ahead. What we chiefly realize at present—and we are like all other explorers in this—is that the unconscious is much greater than we had conceived; and using dangerously the little knowledge we have, we have actually given it a higher rank than consciousness itself. In the praise we have showered on the unconscious impulses we have forgotten the few commonplace facts about the conscious control of action which, baldly set down, are its eternal justification—that without it we should not be human beings but animals, that in the exercise of it alone are we free agents in any sense, and that the more consummate becomes our discipline in it the nearer we approach the ideal of Man.

For many minds the prefix *sub,* as applied to consciousness, is connected with the notion of the threshold, and for them the sub-conscious must be regarded as *below* the threshold. For practical purposes it may be permitted to treat the conscious, the sub-conscious and the unconscious as making up a great series of states of gradually diminishing intensity from focal consciousness on the one hand to total passivity on the other, the whole being divided into two by the threshold, which is assumed to occur just above the sub-conscious. At any given moment, then, the subliminal would include all the

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Psycho-Analysis. Term used by persons who do not know Greek for purposes always questionable and generally mischievous.

Psychanalysis (which is what they mean) I have *once* seen correctly spelt. Imagine *psycho-agogia* or *psycho--emperos!*

From George Saintsbury's Note Book.

elements of which we are not conscious, though these elements may be roughly classified into a group having some activity (the sub-conscious), and another having none.

As distinguished from the natural sciences, experiment in social research cannot produce a definite and measurable result, for the final purpose is concerned with human behaviour and character—matters which cannot be weighed and tested in the laboratory. A school of experimentalists have, however, adopted plans in recent years, basing educational reform upon results of exact measurement; and these would claim to confine the term "Experimental Education" to such investigations. They follow the methods of Experimental Psychology, and look forward to the time when education can be "recognized as an exact science." This school of reformers looks to Meumann as its leader; and the most important contributions so far made in Great Britain are based upon the researches of Meumann, Lay, and other German teachers. In the United States, Thorndike is the leader of a group of investigators who carry quantitative methods of research even further afield. "The more cautious opinion regards these labours as helpful rather to psychology than to education itself. Much has been done to explain phenomena of memory, association, imagery, and habit; and the old doctrine of "faculty psychology" has been subjected to a great variety of laboratory investigation, allied to a search for some formula of general intelligence which may reconcile the disputants in this ancient controversy."* Equal activity, however, has been shown in the treatment of school instruction: all branches of the arts of language, including modern languages and of elementary mathematics, have been examined by laboratory tests.

It is obviously to the educator's advantage to recognize the distinction between the active and the passive elements that make up the content of the subliminal. At any given moment this content may be divided into two sections, the smaller of which will include all the elements that for some reason or other are at that moment exercising influence on the content of consciousness, while the other section includes all the remaining elements, these being mere potentialities. The first section would then represent the sub-consciousness, while all the other elements would belong for the moment to the unconsciousness. On this view all the ideas that are either on their way into consciousness or have just passed out of consciousness will form the most prominent elements of the sub-conscious

* *Critique of Pure Reason*, Bk. I, p. 303, French translation; Alcan. 1909.

segment, while ideas that are more or less closely connected with these will have a greater or less degree of influence on whatever ideas are at that moment in consciousness. Whatever has once formed part of the mental content, and has been driven below the threshold, will necessarily form a part of the subliminal content.

Psycho-analysis, by its study of border-line states of the mind (*e.g.*, the phenomena of hysteria, which are better understood now, as a result of the observation of shell-shock cases and war neuroses) and by its investigation of dreams (Freud's theory of the suppressed wish, though now dismissed by some, as inadequate, has been a useful working hypothesis), has already thrown light on the complex problem of trance-mediumship. Thus it has been shown that the medium's mysterious activities are really excessive examples of what quite ordinary people do and experience.

Without attempting to differentiate the two opposing views, it may be said that Jung differs from Freud mainly in that he attaches less importance to the factor as a motive in conduct, and that he insists upon the recognition of moral influence on the sub-conscious mind as shown by the teleological aspect in dreams. But the end of mental healing is neither that the conscious should rule the unconscious, nor that the unconscious should guide the conscious; but that the unconscious should more and more be "brought into consciousness." And that is the problem not merely of psycho-analysis, but of human culture. The teaching of the new psychology brings a personal lesson to everyone. A knowledge of subconscious mental processes enables everyone to study himself, and better equips him to overcome many of the minor troubles of life. Self-analysis provides rules of conduct in life, and to those who have the courage offers a self-resolution which will enable them to see in themselves the source of their miseries, which too often they attribute to the outside world.

Logically there is room for only two states, Consciousness and Unconsciousness; for at any given moment we are either conscious or we are not. Psychologists recognize this when they speak of the threshold of consciousness. Once an idea falls below this threshold it is unquestionably in the realm of the unconscious. But practical considerations interfere with the smooth-running distinctions of logic. All the elements that are said to be below the threshold are not in the same state. Some appear to be perfectly passive, others uneasily dormant, and still others are in a condition of what may be called subactivity. The state of affairs below the threshold is not unlike the state of affairs above. In both cases the elements that make up the content may be arranged according to their

power of influencing the mental process at any given moment. The continuity between the upper and the lower realm is recognized by the term that is often applied to what lies below the threshold. This view obviously reduces the importance of the threshold, if indeed it does not challenge its very existence. Yet the plain man readily admits that there is a difference between what is above the threshold and what is not. His trouble is to distinguish between the two grades—subconsciousness and unconsciousness. The process of education consists largely in building up connections among elements that it is of importance to keep co-ordinated with one another. When Herbert sets up the ideal of education as the cultivation of a many-sided interest, he is really pleading for such a correlation of the elements of experience that the content of the subliminal shall be sensitive to the appeal of certain kinds of stimuli that may originate within the realm of consciousness.

But here's the trouble. The minute a science is popularized it is in danger of being vulgarized, and when it is vulgarized (and commercialized) it becomes a very real and often a terrible menace. I believe in radium. But I'd hate to have everyone experimenting with it. I believe in the virtues of X-ray, but I want experts to manage it. I believe dynamite is safe if men know how to handle it; but one doesn't give it to children to play with. And psychical research is a matter for highly-trained experts, for pathologists, for alienists, for psychologists, for neural experts, not for exploitation by wizards who peep and mutter in twilight rooms and dark cabinets at so much an admission to the seance.

Psychology in all its modern guises has, as the French say, "arrived"; to-day it is a word to conjure with, while two decades ago it was simply the concern of a few solemn professors and their students. "The success of psychology is undoubtedly due," says an anonymous writer, "to the fact that discriminating persons in all departments of life have recognized that this science is a real help to the co-ordination of their particular activities and methods; the value of psychology is not so much in its discovery of what is new, as in its setting in order and arranging intelligibly what has been all along in civilized communities common knowledge. For this reason its methods have been adopted in medicine, education, commerce, politics, and many other specialized branches of social activity. Has psychology any contribution to make to religion?" The question has already been answered in relation to certain departments of Church life; most of us now recognize that we must study the psychology of the "herd" in the arrangement of our Church

services; the preacher, if he is to make his message effective, must understand the value of the psychology of persuasion, either intuitively or by study; and the catechist must be to some extent conversant with child psychology if he is to get the best out of the members of his Catechism class. But we have to acknowledge that so far little has been done by competent and definitely Christian teachers to apply the methods of psychology to the religious experience of the individual soul.

Psycho-analysts teach that there is a *Censor,* a kind of mental mechanism, to prevent what is in the unconscious becoming conscious, except it be duly disguised. Their view of human nature is very low. Most of them, especially the Freudian psycho-analysts, regard man as being a well-mannered and cleverly hypocritical animal, altogether base and sexual at heart, and they say that were our dreams not disguised by the Censor, they would awaken us from sleep, on account of their ugly animal grossness.

Further, they teach that we have learned by custom and convention (not of course by duty or religion, for they don't admit true conscientiousness in man) to suppress our primitive animal instincts. But in doing so, we often suppress too violently, or in a wrong way, and cause a *complex* or mind-wound which later on gives us trouble. Or it may be that the *complex* is formed in other ways, but eventually it makes itself felt in the unconscious and our nerves begin to suffer. Their aim, then, is to find out what the *complex* is, how it originated, and finally, having analyzed it, to dissolve it so that it may cease to upset the mind.

The true *flair* of the psycho-analyst is for symbolic detail. Mr. Mordell in his book on the *Erotic in Literature* regards the unconscious and the erotic as well-nigh synonymous, and looks askance at the theorists who have discarded this emphasis of Freud's. Now, Freud has discovered that dreams about flying, riding, swimming, landscapes, rooms, boxers, burglars, serpents, and machinery have a sexual significance. Very well, Mr. Mordell says; it is clear that writers who affect these subjects are unconsciously expressing a symbolic wish. Ruskin is rich in landscapes; we divine an attachment to his mother and an unfortunate love affair. Mr. Kipling has an "undue interest in machinery"—but Mr. Mordell decently refrains from pressing his point against living writers.

The psycho-analyst should be both imaginative and cautious, fertile in suggestion, but a stickler for evidence. To a certain kind of mind explanations which consist in the application of a few prin-

ciples to a great diversity of phenomena possess so extraordinary an attraction that, in the attempt to squeeze everything into their scheme, they lose not only their sense of probability but also their sense of humour. It cannot be denied that psycho-analytic literature has a great attraction for this kind of mind, and the practitioners of psycho-analysis sometimes seem to be of the same species.

It is a far cry from to-day to the days of Babylonian astrology and the earliest forms of Gnosticism, *pace* the question as to the pre-Christian or post-Christian origin of Gnosticism. Anyway, the gulf is bridged, and the modern seer dabbles in the magic arts of centuries ago; he has assumed the mantle of the Valentinian prophet, aping his role, mouthing his jargon and adopting his pseudo-intellectualism. Ophitic diagrams, the secrets of the Kabbala, the services of Pythonesses; all these are at the disposal of the modern searcher after the Unknown.

Literature, too, there is in abundance, ranging from studies of Christian Mysticism (treated in a non-Christian fashion) to the higher forms of Eastern Pagan Mysticism with its promise of powers of omniscience and of omnipresence. Weeklies, fortnightlies, monthlies, quarterlies issue from the press in great numbers and in every language. Not all, certainly, hold out the same guerdon. The rewards offered vary from the miraculous attainments of the perfect *yogi,* which are personal to the adept, to the revelation of the future and the revealing of secrets through the mediumship of another. These latter allurements make up the bulk of the advertisements in the various occult magazines.

Whatever the practical results of psycho-analysis may be, we have to remember that behind the practical treatment there lie definite theories upon which the practice is based. When we come to examine these theories we find that they differ fundamentally, particularly on the subject of dream interpretation. Thus, one theory makes the dream a symbolic realization of suppressed sexual cravings (Freud); another makes it the expression of the self-preservation instinct (Adler); and still another finds in the dream a solution of mental conflict (Rivers). It is obvious that with such widely divergent theories there will be considerable differences in the results obtained, and consequently psycho-analysis cannot claim to be considered an exact science.

A complex, in Mr. Bousfield's words, "is a mental constellation fixed in the unconscious mind which opposes the reception of facts, opinions, or beliefs which are in opposition to the complex." The

victim of a complex does not suspect its existence, and endeavours to give rational explanations of his beliefs or disbeliefs. But the illogical character of these attempts at rationalization is often sufficient to show that he is guided not by reason but by feeling. The examination of Freud's writings has convinced Mr. Bousfield that Freud is suffering from a complex, and he has been able to determine its elements. We may summarize them as disbelief in moral responsibility, in survival after death, in free will, in God or spirit, and in means of cognition other than the physical senses. How does such a complex arise?

Of certain things I am conscious. I know I am writing this and why. But probably no one reading it is conscious of what he ate for upper last night, though he can quite easily recall it. It was, they say, "in" his preconsciousness. Much more, he cannot recall at will, say, what happened on his fifth birthday. But some stimulus or other can bring it surging up. It was, all the time, in his subconsciousness. There may be more that no stimulus suffices to recall: what occurred, say, when he was three. That exists, if anywhere, in his unconscious. These memories, then, are said to be different "levels" of the unconscious, according as it is more or less difficult or impossible to recall or make them conscious.

Psycho-analysis implies an analyzing of the soul or *psyche,* but the soul is a simple spiritual substance and cannot be analyzed. What is meant, however, by this inaccurate name is an analyzing of the experiences of the soul or mind with a view to finding out what particular experience it is which has brought about the present nervous trouble. For psycho-analysts base their treatment on the assumption that nervous disorders, hysterias, obsessions, insomnia and many other ailments are due to the presence of some disturbing factor, some mind-wound (or *complex* as they call it) in the storehouse of the mind.

The psycho-analyst first wins the confidence of his patient and then by means of careful (but not necessarily leading) questions, and by association tests induces him to lay open what he thinks and feels, at leisure, in careless moments, what he dreads or hopes for, and even what his nightmares consist of. By these means, nervous trouble in adult life can often be traced to half-forgotten shocks or difficulties of early childhood, and, once the load of inhibition or repression is removed, the patient can look squarely at his trouble, see it in its true proportions and, usually, lose it.

Dr. Ernest Jones once said that the first remark about a discovery was: There is nothing in it. The second: It is wicked. Then: We

knew it all along. Alack! We have been making nearly all three about his own theory, or that of his Freudian masters.

Unfortunately, Petronic Rabelaisian and Casanovian ethics have disturbed the human equilibrium.

Let us see now how, in practice, the psycho-analytic method is conducted. The patient must be absolutely open with the analyst, telling his whole life story, manifesting what is most secret and intimate in his conscience, concealing nothing whatever, neither sins nor details of sins. Further, he must recount in full all his dreams. He must submit himself to "free-association" tests: that is, he must tell at once and in full all the thoughts suggested to his mind by any word the psycho-analyst may choose to utter. This great self-revelation takes much time. The patient must be prepared to give an hour a day for many months, or even for a year or two, to his analyst (and he must be prepared to pay highly for the analyst's time). Meanwhile the analyst is searching for the hidden trouble of mind that has caused the neurasthenia or obsession. If he finds it (and it may have had its origin in some forgotten childish experience) the analyst traces the influence of this experience down through the patient's life, and aims at getting him to assimilate normally that troublesome experience into his mental life.

Someone has said that the new psychology recalls in a somewhat startling way the old theology of the days of St. Athanasius. The inquiring student finds himself in a controversial atmosphere where anathemas rather than arguments are hurled by the parties at one another. The bewildered novice finds a Vienna school, a Zurich school, a Nancy school, and now a Geneva school each claiming to be orthodox and deploring the heresy of the others. It is very odd, and yet the reason is not far to seek. In the first place, the theory itself of unconscious mind rests on a non-rational foundation, or at least on a principle which is supra-rational; and in the second place, every theory aims at laying down rules for the accomplishment of a spiritual work on the carrying out of which salvation depends.

In 1895 Freud first put forward the idea that our conscious mental activities were largely controlled by the activities of the unconscious mind. This theory was suggested, in the first instance, to explain certain forms of hysteria, but an enormous amount of more recent work shows quite clearly that the role of the unconscious is just as important in normal as in abnormal minds. The theory at first met with violent opposition, but is now generally accepted in its main outlines; the position at the present time being closely

analogous to the position of the theory of evolution some ten years after it had been propounded by Darwin. In the same way that the idea of evolution was well known before Darwin, so psychologists had been aware of the unconscious before Freud; the latter, however, for the first time brought forward experimental evidence of its existence and showed how its mode of action could be investigated. There is another close parallel between the development of the two theories; Darwin, Wallace, Weisman, and Mendel all held different views as to the mechanism of evolution, and the strife between their various adherents is active to this day. So with the New Psychology: there is a bitter feud between the disciples of Freud and of Jung as to the interpretation of certain phenomena, but all are agreed as to the activity of the unconscious mind and its preponderating influence in our total mentality.

Men and women have primitive instincts and appetites which are socially or otherwise impossible. Restraint and discipline are therefore necessary. In favourable circumstances the appetites and instincts are turned from their primitive purposes and directed to other, new and socially valuable purposes. These instincts, however, are strong and tend always to return to their ancient paths.

Owing to the mechanism of "forgetting" the individual is not conscious of the natural tendency of his instincts. Having, as he supposes, yoked them to new purposes, he has forgotten their existence, he "does not know that he knows." Yet they are there, ready to rebel against the socially good work set them to do. Because they may not enter his consciousness in their true forms they tend to enter it in various disguises, in dreams, in mannerisms, and so on. The fears and terrors of neurotic persons are disguised appetites which have not been successfully yoked to high purposes or which have broken away from the yoke, and are breaking away also from the realm of forgetting.

An auto-suggestion is a notion which, becoming grafted on the imagination, automatically and unconsciously realizes itself in a way that can best be described as non-voluntary. A good illustration of the meaning of this is given in M. Baudouin's book.* If a plank thirty feet long and nine inches wide is laid on the ground, and a person is asked to walk along it he will be able to do so with perfect ease, without placing either foot on the ground. Supposing now that the plank be suspended between two points at a considerable height from the ground, no one except perhaps a tight-rope

*Suggestions and Auto-suggestions, p. 38.

dancer would venture across, or if he did he would probably fall. Why? Because the fear of falling is aroused (the notion), the body becomes unsteady and falls. All effort to maintain one's balance not only fails, but increases the instability, so that the fall is inevitable. The notion of falling is the unconscious cause of the fall. The only way to escape falling is to have a firm conviction to the contrary, that is, of not falling. In walking along the plank on the ground the person would unconsciously have this notion and gets across without mishap.

The principal factor is the imagination by which apparently is understood the fact that some mental imagery has spontaneously or non-voluntarily taken hold of the attention to the exclusion, partial or total, of other imagery or notions. Attention is so firmly riveted on the notion concerned that contrary notions cannot gain a footing.

The method aims at increasing a person's self-reliance—all are familiar with the formula that has to be repeated twenty times night and morning, "Day by day, in every way, I'm getting better and better." For ourselves, we see a real danger in this concentration upon the self, it may very easily lead to a serious eccentricity of character; particularly if applied to growing children—and M. Coué strongly urges us to influence the young by auto-suggestion. As the lecture proceeded we found ourselves constantly remarking that the speaker was advocating methods which had been in use for centuries in the Catholic Church, but with this important difference, it was the Self, not God to whom the individual was referred. "Shut our eyes," M. Coué says to us, "and repeat to yourselves these words." Then he proceeded to suggest to us that we were healthy people, and so on. We were, in fact, being "led in prayer," but the prayer was addressed to the Self, and it made us shudder. A Catholic may surely be pardoned for believing that our Mother Church has taught us a better and a surer way to spiritual health.

At the present time there is a distinct risk of psycho-analysis becoming to some extent a fashionable craze. Treatment by those who are not thoroughly versed in the subject may cause serious harm. No one without good reason should allow all his natural expressions to be brought to the surface by anyone who claims to be an adept.

In the majority of books written to expound the various theories, are shown a lack of accurate and logical thinking, and a still more marked lack of reverence and respect for what is sacred—and all is written with a ludicrous air of superiority. Written in a popular style they deliberately set themselves to propagate sex-knowledge,

without weighing the consequences of the harmful illustrations of sex-abnormalities. Its ramifications are amazing. In Pedagogy, Ethnology, Aesthetics, Literature, Psychology and Therapeutics, new methods are discussed and investigations prepared in the light of its assumed discourses.

It would be unfair to refuse to acknowledge the merit of the work done, or the value of the facts classified and analyzed by the new psychologists, but it is of the spirit in which they do their work, the materialistic basis on which they support it, that we have reason to complain. It is the fashion of some Church papers to condemn psycho-analogy as rot and trash, they emphasize only the danger, and the possibilities of abuse, and no doubt the majority of their readers are contented to accept this opinion as final, and in their turn to condemn the whole system without having read a word of the literature. But so important are the questions raised that no second-hand opinion ought to satisfy those who are in a position to judge for themselves. In order to arrive at a considered opinion it is essential that the inquirer should have in his hands a clear and unbiased elementary exposition of the teachings of psycho-analysis.

By means of the cathartic method the mind may be cleared of the "bottled-up" unction. By means of test words, we can gain slight indications of underlying mental disturbances. About a hundred selected words, such as head, green, water, stick, long, etc., may be mentioned one at a time to the patient and he is asked to give the first thought which each of these words arouses in his mind. If the word possesses no significance to the patient, and does not awaken any latent memory, the answer is given readily, but if the word stirs up by association of ideas some deep emotional conflict, the patient hesitates to reply or gives an answer which may serve as a clue to the latent disturbing memory. By following up these clues we are enabled eventually to unearth the original experience or emotion which, by being repressed, gave rise indirectly to the symptoms which the patient presents. This original disturbing emotion may be forgotten or apparently unknown to the patient. When the patient is encouraged to talk of this emotion (complex), the long-repressed and pent-up feeling associated with it finds vent by means of language. The feeling having been discharged, it no longer strives to release itself by indirect channels, and the symptoms disappear. The conscious advances more rapidly than the whole content of the mind, and it can quicken the advance of that content only by making it conscious.

"It has been maintained by some," writes Dr. Jones, "that the application of psycho-analysis is not "treatment," but only a method or technique to disclose the origin of nervous and mental symptoms, but the textbook referred to devotes a whole chapter to treatment, which is summarized under three heads, viz.: Dream Interpretation; Free Association; and Transference. Dream interpretation depends upon the assumption that there is during sleep a kind of personified guardian preventing thoughts, ideas, and impulses rising from the unconscious mind into consciousness. If they succeed in passing through the "Censorship," then they appear as the dream, which can be narrated, but in reality they represent latent tendencies which have been repressed, and with them certain emotions; the whole forming a complex. In this way, whatever comes into consciousness is interpreted, in accordance with a certain key, to be symbolic of tendencies in the unconscious mind; for instance, dreams of daggers or snakes are of phallic origin. There are various mechanisms in dreams, described as condensation, dramatisation, displacement, regression, and secondary elaboration, by which psychic importance is attached to the latent content or to the unconscious mind. Free association is the method of discovering the tendencies of the unconscious mind by the comparison of irrelevancies that are expressed in speech, and the "stimulus word" reaction is timed by a suitable chronoscope, which latter is, however, rarely done. A "transference" is necessary before psycho-analysis is complete—*i.e.,* emotional reactions must take place in connection with the analyst, and this is either positive or negative, depending upon the patient's "resistance." He cannot help this emotion, which is stated to disclose the condition of his unconscious tendencies, and the latter are deemed to be the fundamental dynamic processes that guide conduct."

The theoretical interpretations formulated by such eminent authors as Freud, Jung, White, Kempf, differ on several points. Freud and Jung, for instance, emphasize the psychical origin of neurosis, while Kempf and White take more integral and biological views. Thus Kempf differs mainly from Freud in insisting more on the physical aspect of etiology of neurosis, showing the part played by the viscera and the autonomous nervous system in the development of morbid symptoms. This view, in turn, is based on a theory of the nature and origin of emotional states differing radically from that held by Freud.

> "'Tis in ourselves that we are thus or thus
> Our bodies are our gardens, to the which
> Our wills are gardeners."

Psycho-analysis as its very name implies, is a searching analysis of our mental "make-up," by the application of a specialized technique, with a view to showing and recovering to consciousness from beneath its threshold the real determining motives and tendencies that lie behind our attitude towards life. Its ultimate purpose, it follows, is resynthesis. Here it must suffice to say that the treatment proceeds, not by way of "suggestion" on the part of the analyst, but by eliciting—and these are the words of a great authority—"the material from the patient himself by free association of thought involving the abandonment of all critique on his part, by the observation and analysis of symptomatic actions, and especially by the analysis of the patient's dreams", dreams being recognized by Sigmund Freud at the *via regia* to the exploration of the unconscious. Psycho-analysis reveals an immense mass of small details, any of which may or may not possess significance.

Psycho-analysis discloses the unconscious existence of manifold phantasies, which have their end root in the infantile past and turn around the so-called "Kern-complex," or nucleus-complex, which may be designated in male individuals as the Oedipus-complex and in females as the Electra-complex. These terms convey their own meaning exactly. The whole tragic fate of Oedipus and Electra took place within the narrow confines of the family, just as the child's fate lies wholly within the family boundaries. Hence the Oedipus conflict is very characteristic of an infantile conflict, so also is the Electra conflict. The unconscious is the great generator and reversion of psychic energy. As long as it is in contact with Reality, whether subjective or objective, it is constructive. But when it is reflexive, and only engaged in creating phantastic and unreal, it destroys, for it then begets disease, neurosis, insanity, even death itself. It is not safe to play with this so-called new science, without knowledge of the laws that govern them; and the result of such play is more often than not, disaster. There is no room for freedom in such a conception. Such is the opinion of eminent psychologists.

Man is not merely animal, he has a soul, a spiritual nature.

Appetitus autem sensitivus non respicit communem rationem boni, quia nec sensus apprehendit universale; et ideo secundum diversas rationes particularium bonorum diversificantur partes appetitus sensitivi. Nam concupiscibilis respicit propriam rationem boni, inquantum est delectabile secundum sensum, et conveniens naturae. Irascibilis autem respicit rationem boni, secundum quod est repulsivum et impugnativum ejus quod infert nocumentum. Sed voluntas

respicit bonum sub communi ratione boni; et ideo non diversificantur in ipsa, quae est appetitus intellectivus, aliquae potentiae appetitivae, ut sit in appetitu intellectivo alia potentia irascibilis, et alia concupiscibilis; sicut etiam ex parte intellectus non multiplicantur vires apprehensivae, licet multiplicentur ex parte sensus.[1]"

Thus, whilst readily admitting that all the instincts of the sensitive life are grouped under the same dynamic finality, the conservation of the species, and hence the tendencies of the sensitive life, as such, are only more or less sublimations of the primitive components of the group "nutrition-reproduction," which Janet places at the base of his classification of tendencies, there exist over and above, for man, higher instincts manifesting characteristics, different, and even opposite, to those of the sensitive instincts. The superior tendencies are exercised in virtue of judgments and by means of voluntary acts. The sensitive instincts are not composing elements in relation to the higher tendencies but rather subordinate mechanisms; stimulus-reaction complexus, capable of realizing movements in response to the will. It is fundamentally incorrect therefore to regard religious tendencies, as a biological blossoming forth, of a composite of the sexual instinct. This distinction we have drawn is deducible *a priori* as has been hinted from the theses of rational psychology.

It has the advantage of being supported by the finest experiments of contemporary psychology.[2] In this sense we can welcome the pronouncement of a well-known English specialist[3]: "Freudism is dead in England, but psycho-analysis, denuded of its offensive associations, was never more alive." There is a very healthful tendency observable amongst the English doctors and psychologists who have approached and discussed the new science; they have been led by their own fine natural feelings to a drastic pruning of the system, whither we also are led by traditional scholastic psychology. The reason for the morbid pre-occupation with the subject of sex is difficult to find, not in the host of vulgar charlatans who have popularized Freud's teachings, but in Freud himself. A recent writer[4] gives a very sensible reply, that the "first patients of Freud were in a morbid condition of body or mind, or both." There may be, a shadow of an excuse for Freud, as conversation with the many of those who served in foreign armies during the War shows that the

[1]St. Thomas, 1ª, q. 83, a. 5.
[2]J. de la Vaissière, *Eléments de Psychol. Exp.*, pp, 290-301.
[3]Sir R. Armstrong Jones, M.D., *Science and Progress*, Jan., 1921.
[4]E. M. Caillard, *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1920.

herd of poilus and soldati, *qua* herd, with their pre-occupation about what the English "Tommy" calls the "birds," would go far to confirm a pessimist in a judgment that all the nations are in a morbid condition. The protagonist of psycho-analysis was, however, distressed at the misunderstanding of his terminology; the word sexual must be sublimated. To avoid, in future, the responsibility of defective applications, the director of the movement (Freud) is going to form an international school which will receive as members only those capable of rightly applying the principles.[5] Dr. Jung wishes to understand the *libido* as "la veritable force de la vie. Putnam[6] wishes to give a much larger sense to the word. Maeder[7] will have us take the word sexual in the sense the poets give it when they speak of "la faim et l'amour qui menent le monde." Edmund Jones understands Freud in his use of the phrase "sexual instinct" as meaning "the will to power" of Schopenhauer, or the *elan vital* of Bergson. It is sheer dishonesty in the use of words (practised in all charity to cover Freud). We would do well to recall the principles of semantics enunciated by Kant† and by St. Thomas, that no one has the right to be a law unto himself in the use of words.

They are so many studies in the morbid anatomy of society, so many flashes of light into dark corners harbouring squalor, disease and vice. They cannot be ignored by the historian. The comprehension of the crimes of a period is an important element in determining its character. They may be great significant historical events. Beaumarchais's litigation and the Collier Affairé were the overture to the French Revolution. What a flood of light might be thrown on antiquity if we had but had only one verbatim report of the proceedings of a trial in Athens 350 B. C. or Rome 50 B. C. For such we should gladly barter some speeches of great orators which have come down to us in forms in which, as we may gather from Cicero's and Pliny's letters, they were never delivered. Instructive are the different modes of trial which not only vary much from country to country, but which even in the same country may greatly change, although no overt alteration has been made in the rules of procedure. No less interesting are the mysterious fluctuations in public opinion as to offenders.

In the human race pleasure and duty are in frequent conflict, and criminality consists in giving the reign to pleasure when pleasure conflicts with duty. When Dr. Mercur says that every man is a

[5] *Les Mèdications Psychogiques*, vol. ii., 1920.
[6] J. J. Putnam, *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 1910, p. 375
[7] Le Mouvement Psycho-analytique, *Annèe Psychologique*, 1912.

potential criminal, it means that every man experiences this conflict from time to time.

"Occasionally a trial reveals or suggests a plot as complex and unexpected as any devised by Wilkie Collins or Gaboriau. And so these collections have served as quarries in which novelists have dug freely. How many scenes, episodes, and characters could be traced back to Howell's State Trials? Smollett, Charles Reade and Lord Lytton are only a few who have borrowed from this inexhaustible source. M. Bourget has frankly admitted his indebtedness to the reports of trials in the Paris Courts, and many modern French novels are in substance reproductions or obvious variations of reports in M. Alfred Bataille's *Causes Criminelles et Mondaines.*

"So little has really been found out about psycho-analysis that the only advice one can give is to suspend judgment on it. It is a dangerous method which requires great care, and its results are sometimes deplorable," he said. "Many cases have, on the other hand, been cured by it. We must therefore keep an open mind until we know a great deal more. As for those who speak of the new psychology, they are generally new to psychology. Most psycho-analysis can be explained in terms of ordinary psychology.

Psycho-analysis cures patients by making them feel that they have been the victims of some very early evil impression, usually sexual in character, which has continued unconsciously to them to colour all their subsequent mental life. Some of the curious theories of secondary personality, the subliminal self and what has recently been called "our hidden guest," represent in other terms what the medieval observers and thinkers expressed in their way by an appeal to diabolic influence. They felt that there was a spirit influencing these patients quite independent of themselves in some way, and their thoroughgoing belief in a personal devil led them to think that there must be some such explanation of the phenomena. Even great scientists in the modern time who have studied psychic research have not been able to get away entirely from the feeling that there is something in such possession, and have admitted that there may be even alien influence by an evil spirit.

The new psychology is not content with the formal exposure of a fallacy; it finds the cause always in a disharmony between the conscious and the unconscious, which produces confusion of thought. In fact, "the origin of fallacy is emotional, not formal"; an unconscious emotion rationalizes itself so as to achieve a seeming harmony with the conscious; and this rationalizing, which is not really rational, produces the fallacy. It is not that emotion is necessarily

the enemy of reason—that itself is a fallacy which Blake attacks in the "Marriage of Heaven and Hell"—it becomes the enemy of reason only when it is unconscious and so isolated. The cause of fallacy is exaggeration of unity in the self making a pretence of unity. Fallacies are also due to ignorance, inadvertence, etc., without any emotional root. A man may, for instance, have motives which he suppresses because he is ashamed of them; in that case the motives remain and act, but the suppression takes the form of false reasoning, the aim of which is always the pretense of a unity that does not exist. This kind of suppression is commonest in people who start with some false assumption about human nature. If, for instance, they believe that all natural desires are wrong, they will never admit to themselves that they do a thing because they want to do it. Always they find some moral reason for doing it which is not the real reason, and they live in a state of fallacy which, by its incessant rationalizing, prevents the exercise of the reason.

One often hears people saying, when they are discussing the misdeeds of some miserable outcast, and, after a comfortable dinner, shaking their heads over his hardships, that if we were in his place we would in all probability do the same thing. It would be just as reasonable to say that if he were in our place he would do the things we do. There are thousands of poor, hard-working, miserable men and women in this country, but in spite of the strain to which they are subjected they do not steal. They behave a great deal better than some of those who write about them. The truth is, not that each of us would do what any other would do in given circumstances, but that many of us, being what we are and where we are, have actually, at one time or another, committed crimes not differing in essence from those punishable by law, and actually punished when the transgressor is caught.

The idea of retribution still plays a great part in our theory of punishment, and that we have never accepted Bentham's view that the sole object of legal punishment is example. The right to punish is entailed by the right to self defense. Whether a State that professes to be purely secular, and does not accept Christian morals, has a moral right to punish, except in the offender's own interests or for the sake of example, is a very open question, but he does not discuss it.

Delicacy of conscience may be largely the outcome of education and wholesome influence, just as want of correction, evil surroundings and bad company will invariably damage the moral sense. The

caprices of the young have to be checked. We have to impart to them the best traditions of the past. All this we recognize and have been recognizing for centuries. We do not on that account seek to evade the basic fact, namely the existence and supremacy of conscience. There is a great deal of deliberate sin in the world. Sinners themselves would be the first to confess it, and they ought to know. The Catholic Church is alone competent to make a pronouncement upon the question, for she alone has been and is in possession of "inside" information on the matter. Sooner or later, everyone has to make a choice between the pleasant and selfish successes of life and the lonely path of self-denial; one must either live for self or for others, and the perfect life is perfectly unselfish.

There are some few, however, who take a benevolent interest in the criminal, and work for his reform. Just as Shaftsbury contended that conscience was the product of education and fashion, these will argue that the criminal is largely, if not altogether the product of his environment, and that, as Dr. Maudsley puts it, no man can escape the tyranny of his organization. The improvement of a man's surroundings may work wonders. Indeed, it has done so, since Henry Fielding, one of its early advocates, appealed for the annihilation of the filthy dens which in his day were hotbeds of the worst forms of vice. But it is impossible to exterminate what have been called "economic" offenses, that is to say, those which are due to the effect of fluctuations in food prices and wages on minds below the average strength.

The theory then that the prison is "a repairing shop for humanity," a moral hospital, is untrue. It is rather indeed a criminal factory, as is sufficiently proved by the fact that the vast majority of those whom it receives, leave it much the worse for their experience there. Munsterberg goes so far as to say, "Criminals are not born, but made; not self-made, but fellow-made."

It frequently happens that in the opinion of his relatives the criminal is not a bad man. Sometimes they know so much of the other side of his character that they cannot believe him guilty of the crime he has committed. The officials, on the other hand, only know him because of the evil he has done. If his friends start with a prejudice in his favour, it is equally true that the officials start with a stronger prejudice against him, and with a less extensive knowledge of his antecedents. This is of no consequence so long as we are only concerned to punish crime, for it is the business of the Court to determine whether the prisoner committed the crime

charged against him. When that has been settled, it is for the judge to pass sentence on the man of whom he knows nothing further than that he has done something which the law condemns. Of course, if we really intended to cure the person of his tendency to transgress, or to seek compensation from him for the mischief he has done, it would be necessary to know something about him, and we would not have the absurd exhibitions which are afforded by our Courts.

Some of our present sociologists accuse no one but "Society" for any crime committed, and would condemn no individual to punishment. This, however was not H. B. Irving's attitude:—

"We must concentrate all our strength in fighting the criminal element in nature, both in ourselves and in the world around us. With the destructive forces of nature we are waging a perpetual struggle for our very existence. . . . What is anti-social, whether it be written in the pages of the historian or those of the Newgate Calendar, must in the future be regarded with equal abhorrence and subjected to equally sure punishment. Every professor of history should now and then climb down from the giddy heights of Thucydides and Gibbon and restore his mental balance by comparing the acts of some of his puppets with those of their less fortunate brethren who have dangled at the end of a rope."

A number of writers, abandoning the attempt to draw a fixed line between virtuous and vicious passions, have boldly maintained that vices have their place as well as virtues, and that the true salvation lies in the golden mean.

The Greeks seem to have pointed to the idea of a blend or harmonious adjustment of all the powers as the perfection of character. Plutarch says (*Essay on Moral Virtue*), "This, then, is the function of practical reason following nature, to prevent our passions either going too far or too short. . . . Thus setting bound to the emotional currents, it creates in the unreasoning part of the soul moral habits which are the mean between excess and deficiency."

Civilization has no time to deal with the criminal or the diseased in any form. As to whether the criminal exists there may be two opinions, so that there may be two opinions as to how he should be dealt with. But that, logically speaking, the consumptive or the sufferer from any permanent infectious disease, or the man or woman who is temperamentally unlucky, or who, let us say, through drink, habitually commits mean actions—that these degenerates should be either executed or relegated to pest colonies as in mediaeval times

the lepers were—that this is the logical corollary of the modern commercial state, no thinking person could very well deny. But imagine the dislike that would be felt even by the normal, the prosperous, and the perfectly healthy for the constructive critic who first seriously enunciated this doctrine, or for the statesman who attempted to enforce a Poor Law based upon it.

Dr. Devon the Glasgow medical authority writes, that "If every person brought to prison for the first time were asked to tell his own story, to give his opinion as to the causes of his fall and as to the means which might be adopted in order to restore him to the ranks of the law-abiding, a great deal of light would be thrown on problems which are not so complex as some people imagine. Prisoners are no greater liars than officials. They tell the truth when it suits them, and they don't waste falsehoods. If they tell more lies than some others, it is because they have more occasion to do so, since they have reason to fear that whatever they say will be used to their disadvantage. Many of them have suffered from the attentions of the people who mean well, and whose muddling would long ago have raised a protest but for the respect which is given to good intentions. The statements made might be checked outside the prison."

A new science naturally meets with pig-headed opposition from vested interest in the old ones it supersedes. Exasperated by this opposition, its adherents make claims on its behalf which are only proportionate to the efforts of its opponents to belittle it. Where, as in the case of psycho-analysis, it not only threatens the incomes of the doctors but treads on the moral corns of the vulgar, hostility is redoubled, and the believers are on occasion provoked into losing their heads.

Referring to modern experiments in psychology, Sir Clifford Allbutt said at a public meeting that "the popular psychology of to-day is an eminent instance of false science and of the mischief of borrowing the terms of science for talk about notions which did not answer to the requirements of science. The so-called 'psycho-analysis' had no units, no measurements, no way to any controls, no precise definition, no separation of objective and subjective evidence. For advocates of this psychology to pretend that their matter was science was to strain language and to deceive themselves.

"It was one of the misfortunes of science, as it was of social adventure, that every new point of view, as soon as revealed in part, was mobbed by a crowd of half-educated thinkers, among whom fanatics

and imposters found many dupes. Nay, even pickpockets were now appealing to their judges to regard their cases from the psychological point of view. It was the fashion at present to analyze everything, and often to forget that science was not concerned with values. Such people were ready to analyze a dung-heap.

Psycho-analysis is by no means so simple as some moralists would imply, it is rather lengthy and difficult. The public concept of psycho-analysis remain rather ludicrouly wrong. Apart from some of Freud's theories, which lay too much stress

Our lower nervous centres seem to have a life of their own, by which the necessary functions of the body are carried on, without any knowledge on our part. And through our lives, as we form habits, and learn to do unconsciously what we at first did by conscious effort, we are, so to speak, organizing the unconscious, handing over to it more and more of our ordinary working day activities. But for what we give up in this way we may or ought to make compensation by the opposite process: by bringing into consciousness more and more of that which is above us. The conscious personality of man is a thing which has gradually through an unmeasured series of ages, been brought about by a slow organization of the unconscious to serve the ethical needs of the race.

To conclude, all people unhesitatingly believe that they feel themselves thinking, and everyone agrees that we discover states of consciousness. So far, the existence of such statements have never been doubted by any critic, however sceptical in other respects they may have been. What introspection does is to supply us with a direct instead of a hypothetical knowledge of mental process. Like all other modes of observation, it is capable of being immensely improved by systematic training and practice. Nevertheless there are certain drawbacks attaching to the introspective method, the most important of which is that the mind in watching its own workings must necessarily have its attention divided between two subjects—first the mental operation itself which is to be observed, and then the object to which the mental operation is directed. This difficulty, however, is not so serious as may seem; for in the first place, retrospection is to a large extent free from it. Secondly it must be borne in mind that it is not the isolated observation which is of importance in introspective psychology, but rather the accumulation of a vast number of observations, each helping the others. Introspection is sometimes spoken of as though it were a fact which could only be accomplished by a trained acrobat, while to the unprofes-

sional it is enshrouded in a mystery box. Like many other things we do we do it very well without being able to say exactly how we do it.

An acute psychologist once remarked that "those famous historical persons who have passed through two antithetical phases of character, survive for us usually only in one of those phases, that we can remember only the post-conversion Augustine and the pre-abdication Diocletian. Such one-sided views of great and complex characters suit our rough and lazy methods of ordinary thought, content to regard a man only on that side which has been most prominently displayed to the world. But such methods are fatal to any clear psychological conception of character or to any sound ethical conception of life. Francis lived one of these double-sided lives, and the Francis we remember is the emaciated saint already developing the stigmata of divine grace.

We are all liable to abandon certain habits and to acquire others as time goes on. Passions burn themselves out. Interests wane with the years, and are replaced or displaced by others. There are many who continue in a course of conduct long after they have ceased either to enjoy it or to be fit for it; but in ordinary circumstances one interest in life merges into another, and one habit is destroyed and replaced by another. The criminal habit persists because we make it difficult for those who have acquired it to give it up for anything else that might appeal to them. The desire to cast out the devil from them is often accompanied by a determination to substitute what they consider a worse devil. They will not turn over a new leaf in order to write the next page at the dictation of somebody else. They prefer to retain their individuality even though they go to hell or to prison for it, rather than accept Heaven and servitude at the hands of those who do not understand them.

CLAUDE WILLIAMSON.

WHO ARE THE GHOSTS?

IF HIS reported public utterances be correct, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle has reiterated the time-worn sophistry of the spiritists, that conventional Christianity has failed and that Spiritism alone furnishes the way to the Universal Church, of which men have dreamed through the ages.

No Catholic requires a refutation of this statement. It has become the commonplace thesis of men whose uncertainty of belief is matched only by the shallowness of their reasoning, but except for such persons, it carries no conviction. Any impartial observer needs only to visit a Catholic Church at any one of its several Masses on Sunday and he will see in the attendance and devotion of the congregation the unanswerable evidence that Catholicism has never failed and that, in very truth as well as in name, it is the Universal Church.

Sir Arthur's statement as to the reviving and guiding influence of Spiritism has been ably answered by many scholars, Catholic and non-Catholic, who have pointed out the uncertainty of the alleged phenomena upon which he bases his conclusions and who have advanced other hypotheses, at least as plausible as the spiritistic one, to account for these phenomena. Besides this, the Catholic Church has forbidden its members to have any traffic in any way with Spiritism. But since Sir Arthur continues to preach his doctrine of the "New Revelation," it may not be out of place to review the subject in a very brief way and to present a few objections to his position.

Roughly speaking, one may hold one or more of three possible opinions in regard to Spiritism.

1. One may denounce the system as a bare-faced fraud. The Reverend C. M. de Heredia, S.J., whose own personal skill as a magician gives his words great weight, is the most prominent Catholic who inclines to this view. At least he seems disposed to solve in this way most of the cases which have come to his attention and demonstrates how easily he can duplicate, by sleight-of-hand, the most mysterious effects of the "mediums." He leaves

open the possibility of diabolical interference but thinks that Satan is usually content to work through human deceit and trickery.

2. One may say that the phenomena are produced without conscious fraud but according to some imperfectly understood physical or psychological law. This view seems to find favor with the distinguished Swedish convert, the Reverend Baron Johan Liljencrants, although he too leaves open the possibility of *diablerie.*

3. One may admit that the phenomena are produced by spirits. The Catholic savants who adopt this view maintain that the spirits are devils, while non-Catholics, if they admit the existence of any spirits at all, usually admit that the spirits are what they claim to be, namely, deceased human beings. Sir J. Godfrey Raupert, whose researches have been rewarded by knighthood at the hands of the Pope, is typical of the Catholic scholars who adhere to this third, demonistic, view. Taking into consideration the facts which are known from the Scriptures and the teachings of the Church, it must be admitted that Raupert's stand is very reasonable. It certainly is the safest theory for the untrained person to adopt, since even in those cases where a natural explanation seems adequate, there are very real moral, mental and physical dangers. No one who is not a trained expert can say where the natural leaves off and the supernatural begins.

The Reverend Simon A. Blackmore, S.J., in his new volume, *"Spiritism, Facts and Frauds,"* has discussed the various aspects of Spiritism and the attitude of the Catholic Church thereto with great lucidity and deep scholarship. Father Blackmore is not predisposed to favor any one theory but analyzes each problem upon its own merits. For a Catholic layman who wishes to acquire exact and definite information according to the point of view of the Catholic Church, Father Blackmore's book cannot be too highly recommended.

Now Spiritism has no right to demand anything more than that the world test its claims according to the evidence adduced. The world is justified in refusing to accept these claims unless and until they are proved. As long as a situation exists whereby the results obtained through the mediums can be explained according to the laws of nature, without invoking the spiritistic hypothesis, the spiritists must not object if intelligent men prefer the natural explanation. Spiritism has no right to demand anything so essentially Christian as faith. Its creed is the negation of Christianity. As Sir Arthur has written, "Christianity must change or perish."

Whatever else they may believe, the spiritists do not recognize anything like the Divinity of Christ, the redemption of man or the eternal reward and punishment which follows the present life. To them, death is merely an interruption in the course of an existence which continues after death in much the same way as before, except that the bodily envelope has been shed. In Doyle's own words, "The spirit is not a glorified angel or a goblin damned, but it is simply the person himself, containing all his strength and weakness, his wisdom and his folly, exactly as he has retained his personal appearance." And, "Hell as a permanent place does not exist." And again, "Too much seemed to be made of Christ's death. Every religion has equally had its martyrs. It is no uncommon thing to die for an idea. Men die continually for their convictions. Thousands of our lads are doing it at this instant in France."

To the adherents of Spiritism, Christ was nothing but a human being who possessed highly developed "mediumistic" powers, by which He was able to perform His miracles. This alleged similarity between the miracles of Christ and the hocus-pocus of the seance-room is one of Spiritism's most fondly cherished beliefs. Sir Arthur himself contends that the Transfiguration was merely an instance of "materialization."

But we have yet to learn of a "medium" who has made the deaf to hear and the blind to see; who has cured the leper; who has raised the dead to life. Christ did all of these things and more. He did not require the dark-room or the circle of sitters. He did not require that "conditions" be made perfect before His "controls" might be expected. Christ did not dupe His followers with fraudulent tricks and then fall back upon the explanation that since the "power" had deserted Him, He had recourse to deception so as not to disappoint His disciples. What Christ did, He did openly and in the light of day. His miracles were worthy of the dignity of the Son of God and were not merely petty conjuring tricks or inane and pointless messages. The more one compares the miracles which Christ performed with the alleged manifestations of the modern "mediums," the more must one be convinced that there can be no similarity between the two things.

In spite of his surrender of any rational and Christian basis for faith, Sir Arthur does not base his belief upon mere scientific proof. As he writes in *"The New Revelation,"* "The objective side of it ceased to interest, for having made up one's mind that it was true there was an end of the matter." As Houdini has pointed out,

in *"A Magician Among the Spirits,"* "He (*i.e.,* Sir Arthur) has refused to discuss the matter in any other voice except that of spiritualism and in all our talks quoted only those who favored it in every way, and if one does not follow him sheep-like during his investigations then he is blotted out forever so far as Sir Arthur is concerned."

In other words, Sir Arthur does not possess the judicial fairness of the unbiased investigator. He seems completely to have lost the faculty of criticizing the phenomena which he observes. He blindly accepts any evidence, no matter how far-fetched or unreliable, which would tend to support his views but cares nothing for any argument which does not wholly agree with them. Whatever he sees in the seance-room he believes and uses as an argument in his favor. He is solely the attorney for the defense.

If Sir Arthur is content to be attorney for the defense, he must not object if a prosecuting attorney be introduced into the case. If he desires to present only his own views and has no patience with those who differ with him, he must not object if someone appears in their behalf. And this leads to the presentation of one of the great objections to the truth of Spiritism, that is, the great difficulty of proving the identity of the alleged spirits.

Even if it be conceded that the manifestations are produced by *some* spirits, the whole proof must be useless unless one can depend upon those spirits telling the truth. A lying spirit is no more worthy of credence than a lying human being. And in the case of strange and unseen personalities, whose arrival, presence and departure must remain veiled in mystery, the first question which they must answer is that of their identity. If they cannot be believed when they tell who they are, they cannot expect to be believed upon any other point.

In the case of a human being who claimed to be the Emperor Napoleon I, his neighbors would be justified in refusing to believe whatever he might tell about his army, his code of laws, or his exile. Everyone knows that the Little Corporal is not walking around in the flesh. And knowing that any person who calls himself Napoleon must be either a liar or a lunatic, one reasonably would doubt whatever he might say. Or suppose a sum of money is wired to a person. The claimant goes to the telegraph office and is compelled to produce a reasonable amount of evidence that he is the person to whom the money was sent. Mere verbal assertion is not enough. Yet in either case, there would be no question as

to the humanity of the impersonator of Napoleon or of the claimant of the money.

Similarly, it is necessary to do more than recognize the spiritual nature of the entities which swarm about the entranced "medium." One must be able to learn whether they are the identical spirits which they claim to be. If they lie when telling their names or if they are unable to give satisfactory proof of their identity in the first place, there is no assurance that their information upon other subjects is reliable. Any "New Revelation" built upon communications from such spirits would be built upon sand. A demand for reasonable proof of identity as a condition precedent to the acceptance of their claims is not unfair. Even as in the case of the human being, mere self-serving assertions need not be accepted as true. Nor is it unreasonable to be dissatisfied with vague platitudes, of a faintly pious tint. "The devil can cite scripture for his purpose."

So far, the spirits, if such they be, have never fulfilled the above demand. This failure of the alleged spirits to prove their identity in a convincing way is the great stumbling-block to the demonstration of the truth of Spiritism. If Catholics did not have the certainty of their own Church upon this question of evoking the souls of the dead, the very indefiniteness and confusion of the evidence upon which Spiritism bases its claims would justify them in refusing to accept the conclusions of its adherents.

The proof usually submitted, in its last analysis, consists of facts or thoughts peculiarly within the knowledge of a deceased person, which are related by the intelligence claiming to be the spirit of that person. Suppose something, which asserts that it is a dead father, is holding a conversation, through a "medium," with a living son. The message comes in these words:

"Don't you remember the time I took you to your grandmother's on the Fourth of July? You were just fourteen years old and had run a nail through your foot on the preceding day. I told you that we would go to the mountains for a vacation and you said that you would like to go but that your foot was very sore."

The son acknowledges that the facts related in the message are correct and concludes that the personality which has been addressing him is indeed the spirit of his father. The line of reasoning on the part of the recipient of the message runs something like this:

"No one except my father and I ever knew what we said on that occasion. This personality, which claims to be my father, correctly

repeats the conversation. Since I am not repeating the conversation myself and since my father is no longer alive, therefore this personality must be the spirit of my father."

This, in a nutshell, is a sample of the reasoning by which spirit identity is considered proved. There is one serious difficulty with such a process. Even though no intentional fraud be perpetrated by any human being, as long as a living person still knows the facts stated in the message and is thus able to check their accuracy, it is possible that the information contained in the message comes in some way from the mind of this living person. In other words, this mind may in some way be acting as a store-room, from which the facts are extracted by separate and untruthful intelligence, or it may be acting as a stereopticon, according to some as yet unknown law of psychology, and projecting its images upon the screen of the "medium's" mind. In either case, there is no necessary inference as to the definite identity of a particular spirit. Conceivably, if an alleged spirit were to relate a fact which had been known only to the deceased person *and to no one else,* this might be evidence that such alleged spirit were the discarnate individual which it claimed to be. The only difficulty with this kind of proof would be the inability of any living person to verify it or to recognize it as true, since no one except the deceased person had ever been admitted to the secret.

Spiritism, in all its years of experimenting, has never proved the clear identity of one spirit. Spiritism is based upon many fallacies but this is one of the most serious of them because one of the most fundamental. Spiritism, if it has any worth, must have it as a religion or at least as a philosophy. The raps, the table-tippings, the materializations and all of the other ghostly claptrap mean nothing in themselves. Unless Spiritism can produce a message for humanity that is worth listening to, it has no more dignity than witchcraft or any other form of profane supernaturalism. As long as mankind is justified in doubting the alleged spirit when it gives its name, just so long is mankind justified in distrusting any other statements which may follow. And where such distrust exists, there can be no solid basis upon which to rest any religious or philosophical system.

Of course, the foregoing has only an academic interest for a Catholic. No matter what evidence may or may not be produced, he may have nothing to do with Spiritism or with anything akin to it. The Decree of the Holy Office, dated April 27, 1917, reads as follows:

"Question.—Whether it is allowable to assist at spiritistic communications or manifestations whatsoever, even though they bear the appearance of being honest and pious, through a medium as he is called or without him, and whether hypnotism is used or not, either by interrogating souls or spirits, or hearing their answers, or else by simply looking on, although one tacitly or expressly protests that he does not wish to have anything to do with evil spirits. The answer is in the negative all around." (Translated by Raupert.)

For a good Catholic, the subject is closed.

DANIEL J. MCKENNA.

HENRY DE MONTHERLANT

THE importance attaching to Henry de Montherlant is manifest. He belongs to the younger generation; he served in the war, and has treated the world conflict in fiction. His fundamental ideas are largely original. But to some Americans another fact probably appeals even more: M. de Montherlant evinces keen interest in athletic sports, certainly an unusual trait for a French author. Further, he reminds one of Ernest Psichari, Renan's sublime grandson, who fell in the retreat from Belgium. To be sure, circumstances spared him Psichari's struggle for the faith. And yet he was exposed to the annihilistic influences which in the last years of the war enticed not a few French soldiers. Fortunately for Montherlant, his Catholic environment had made him immune from subversive doctrines.

The novelist comes of ancestors ennobled in the fifteenth century, and he especially cherishes their glorious deeds. One of his progenitors, a delegate to the Estates General of 1789, was guillotined during the Terror. His great grandfather published an elaborate work devoted to the cause of Catholic education, and was afterwards influential in securing the adoption of the Falloux law, to which the French owe the existence of their Catholic schools. His grandfather was a soldier in the service of Pope Pius IX.

Born in 1896, Henry de Montherlant inherited an iron constitution, which enables him to accomplish double tasks. He was educated at the College of the Holy Cross in Paris, the unforgettable years he spent there being reflected in *La Relève du Matin.* Likening the devoted Fathers to Lacordaire, he bestows upon their affectionate solicitude and elevating influence praise without stint. Only a poet can depict as he does the inspiring chapel services, at which the pupils were brought to realize the seriousness of life.

As the young man had scarcely completed his secondary education at the outbreak of the war, he passed from school almost direct to the barracks. Various allusions in his fiction indicate that he enjoyed military training. Attracted by the national sport of Spain, he had more than once spent his vacation in that country. To gratify his desire for daring feats, he was assigned to a danger-

ous sector of the war zone. But fate seemed contrary: though he received several minor wounds, something always prevented the fulfilment of his fond dreams. This explains why the hero of his autobiographic novel, *Le Songe,* envied the good fortune of soldiers who met a glorious death.

After the war, Montherlant's buoyant energy sought an outlet in athletic sports, a theme he considers especially in *Les Onze devant la Porte Dorée.* No other French writer since the sixteenth century has so poetized the subject. Being a classical student, he vaunts the physical perfection of the ancients, and notably the harmony that such perfection fostered among their faculties. Naturally he lauds the achievements of the federated Catholic clubs for physical education, with their hundreds of thousands of members. The Paris branch possesses at its athletic park near Vincennes a stadium, ball grounds, a library, and a chapel. Says the novelist: "Above all else, the chapel seems to me important. Here at last we find reconciled those two principles which, even before the time of St. Paul and St. Augustine, were regarded as incompatible. What restrictions and heartaches their so-called antinomy has caused in the world!"

But Montherlant makes a sharp distinction between rational athletics and abuse of physical culture. True, his satiric shafts riddle ignorant prejudice against athletic exercise such as his hero Peyrony encounters at home. And for some time Peyrony seems to be an ideal youth. By and by, however, athletics becomes his ruling passion, causing him to neglect intellectual culture. Owing to such disappointments, our novelist's enthusiasm for athletic sports as they are too often practised has cooled.

Montherlant's interest in physical culture is his least important aspect. There remains for consideration his tribute to youth, his impressions of the war, his views philosophic and religious. Like his masters, Chateaubriand, Barrès, and Péguy, Montherlant is a subjectivist whose every utterance bears the imprint of his personality. This feature enhances the lyric beauty of *La Relève du Matin,* which has been called "a spiritual record of young France in the late war." It is pre-eminently a hymn to the genius of youth.

According to Montherlant, our most intelligent years are those between the ages of twelve and seventeen, the very period that past centuries thought dull and "ungrateful," in spite of eloquent facts. Few realize that Britannicus was poisoned at the age of fourteen

or that Beatrice was only twelve when Dante loved her. Nor, at the time of her miraculous rescue, had Iphigenia passed the age of thirteen; and Juliet was but a year older. Thus a considerable portion of the personages who have appealed to the imagination were young. Monseigneur Dupanloup used to assert that he had never known intelligence superior to that of children. Similarly, Michelangelo averred that he was wiser in his youth than in maturity. And did not the sublime words that Jesus uttered in the Temple at the age of twelve transcend the comprehension of His parents?

Montherlant's convictions are partly based on his school days, and conditions at the College of the Holy Cross during the first two years of the war. At times his epic sweep conceives his *alma mater* as a vivid personage, transmitting to the pupils her accumulated vitality and spiritual perfume, with which they mutually inspire one another. *La Relève,* replete with tender affection, throws a flood of light upon the younger Catholic middle class. With his finger on the pulse of French youth, Montherlant has registered its sensibility and intelligence, its aspirations and mystic fervor. By virtue of his concern for ethical and spiritual matters, the book is a mirror of his heroes' conscience without a parallel in the French language.

And with *Le Songe* he has made a notable contribution to war fiction, a field already gleaned by such predecessors as Barbusse, Duhamel, and Dorgelès. Besides, almost contemporaneous with his volume appeared similar romances by J. Kessel, Thierry Sandre, and Philippe Barrès. It is true also that some French literature in the style of the previous period counts as war fiction owing to its setting. For example, Dorgelès belongs in reality to Zola's school. Nor was Duhamel much influenced by the European upheaval. On the other hand, such of their younger colleagues as Kessel, Philippe Barrès, and Montherlant owe to it their sensibility, style, and outlook. Surprisingly enough, for naturalness and moderation they excel the older group.

Whereas Barbusse and Duhamel regarded the Great War as degrading, to these younger soldiers it seemed, if not actually elevating, at least *"la plus tendre expérience humaine."* In them it fostered fellowship, inspiring respect even for the enemy. They declare that no veteran of the World War can despise another. Like young Barrès, Montherlant dwells upon such themes as youth, comradeship, and patriotism. Like him and Kessel, too, he passes

lightly over politics, refraining from tirades against the incompetence of high officials and shortcomings among civilians.

Unhappily, *Le Songe* exhibits features less commendable. Lacking a well constructed plot, it resembles the monologue of a capricious character endowed with more genius than patience. Alban is a superman torn between conflicting impulses, even in matters of the heart. True, he loves Dominique for her purity and physical attainments, yet only Douce appeals to his sensual instinct. Neither holds the centre of his affection, for there we find intrenched his young comrade, Prinet. This tender attachment gives rise to much of Alban's reflection, the charm of the book.

But such meditations concern the author's philosophy and religion, subjects difficult of analysis, owing to their complexity. And yet his general tendencies are clear enough. He affirms that two philosophic systems struggle for supremacy. The one, feminine in its genius, is based on the unverifiable. Of Oriental origin, it engendered Utopia, which begot Disorder. Alexandrianism, Byzantinism, Protestantism, revolution, romanticism, humanitarianism, Bolshevism—such is its progeny. The other philosophy, virile, rational and founded on nature, fosters order and stability. It attained its most complete form in ancient Rome after the conquest of Greece. It is identified with Catholicism, the Renaissance, tradition, authority, classicism, nationalism.

Little wonder that Montherlant, like Juvenal, should champion "the order of the Tiber" as opposed to "the disorder of the Orontes." He attributes the ills of Europe mainly to one fundamental cause: the diminution, in the last fifteen hundred years, of Romanity in religion, politics, and jurisprudence; of Hellenic influence in the arts and sciences. In this disastrous curve France reached her lowest point between 1900 and 1910, since then a salutary reaction having been at work.

Montherlant's birth on the anniversary of the foundation of the Eternal City seems to have predestinated his cult of "Latinity." To mention one notable example: in an epic moonlight scene of *Le Songe,* Father de Pestour expresses to Alban the hope that he will compose psalms to the glory of our Saviour. And when Alban asks if he shall write in French or Latin, the minister of God replies, with the words of St. Paul: *"Sum civis romanus."* The memorable words make Alban realize the superiority of the universal Church over the belligerent countries. As if to crown his mystic reverence, Father de Pestour gives him a medallion bearing the

effigy of Pope Benedict XV. Alban considers the Church as something more than the second mother of Roman civilization; she is, as well, the continuation of the Empire in the modern world.

The broad scope of Montherlant's ideas is obvious. Unlike certain *littérateurs,* so-called *"bien pensants,"* he does not confine himself to apologetics. On the contrary, he offers a rational political doctrine, and stands on firm philosophic ground. While some of his views can be traced back to De Maistre, Maurras, and Lasserre, they are chiefly his own. Of the younger French writers he appears as the most vigorous champion of reforms indispensable to social salvation.

He derives essentially from two influences: Catholic environment and the war. And in his work the two mingle advantageously again and again. The war not only stimulated and crystallized his spiritual convictions; it enabled his robust personality to take the shortest way to unhampered expression, thus avoiding "society" and literary *cénacles.* Hence his originality, apparent on every page. Profoundly elegiac, his recent *Chant funèbre pour les Morts de Verdun* has aptly been compared to an episode from Dante. Owing to profusion of ideas, his principal difficulty is to hold his pen in check. His work, all of superior quality, surely entitles him to first place among the French romancers of his generation. M. de Montherlant plans to spend the next few years in Italy, and some predict that he will bring back a work glorifying the genius of Catholicism.

William H. Scheiffley, Ph.D.

IN NATURE'S REALM

THE BIRD NAMED SWIFT

"And to and fro the blue swifts wheel."—William Sharp.

AS HIS name indicates, the swift is one of the most perfectly constructed flying-machines ever invented. For rapid and protracted flight he has no equal, the swallow being the only bird of his size that can compete with him. It is estimated that the swift flies at the rate of two-hundred-fifty miles an hour, and can travel a thousand miles at a stretch. His aerial evolutions are wonderful demonstrations of speed, skill and grace.

"The swift and the swallow are near akin," says Tennyson in one of Idylls of King Arthur, and they are akin in the sense of being expert aeronauts, of somewhat similar appearance and ability. But there is no close family relationship, as the birds do not belong to the same order, the swallow being placed in the song-bird group, and the swift family in an entirely different group.

The swift has been called an "aerial thoroughbred." His entire body is built expressly for constant flight. His body is small; the breast-bone is very sharp in the keel and furnishes a good brace for the highly developed wing-muscles that play across it; the wings are long and pointed. The short tail seems like an insufficient rudder—when flying he appears to have none at all, one of the easiest means of distinguishing him from the swallow. But this apparent handicap cannot be one in reality, judging from the bird's performances a-wing.

> "And the dashing swift that would ricochet
> From the tufts of grasses before them, yet—
> Like bold Anteus—would each time bring
> New life from the earth, barely touched by his wing."
>
> —Bret Harte (The Birds of Cirencester)

Mr. Harte's comparison of the bird to Anteus, the legendary giant who derived all his strength from the earth and lost his vigor when lifted in air, is more poetical than parallel, except that these

downward swoops are usually for the purpose of snatching a bite of food. For his feet rarely touch the earth; it is against his nature to perch anywhere, and he is in constant flight during his waking hours. He is never seen to alight anywhere except where nesting and roosting go on, being able to collect plenty of supplies on the wing.

He appears to use very little wing motion as he skims about, in widening circles, in the upper air, darting backward and forward, and seeming to take delight in his marvelous skill and grace. At times he sails with wings apparently set, and at other times keeps them flapping so rapidly that it has been debated whether he uses them simultaneously or alternately, though the latter method is now generally thought to be the true one.

John Burroughs tells of an observation of their powerful wing-control: "They outride the storms. I have in my mind a cheering picture of three of them I saw facing a heavy thunder-shower one afternoon. The wind was blowing a gale, the clouds were rolling in black, portentious billows out of the west, the peals of thunder were shaking the heavens, and the big drops were just beginning to come down, when, on looking up, I saw three swifts high in the air, working their way slowly, straight into the teeth of the storm. They were not hurried or disturbed; they held themselves firmly and steadily; indeed, they were fairly at anchor in the air till the rage of the elements should have subsided."

It would almost seem that James Montgomery had solved the secret of this constant flight; in his poem on "The Birds" his dialog with the swift is as follows:

"Why ever on the wing, or perched elate?
—Because I fell not from my first estate;
This is my charter for the boundless skies,
'Stoop not to earth, on pain no more to rise.'"

Of course, it would be impossible for such an accomplished aeronaut to be much of a songster; he is content to let his wings express the music in his soul. Neither is it possible for such a joyous bird to remain utterly silent while executing his graceful flights, and he must chatter in a shrill staccato twitter to his fellows as he skims past them. Mr. Burroughs interprets the rhythmical, penetrating, high-pitched chirp: "Chippy, chippy-chirio, not a man in Dario can catch a chippy-chippy-chirio" which is surprisingly apt.

"The screaming swifts race to and fro."
—William Canton (In the Garden)

Often, this shriek is a battle-cry, for swift belongs to the aerial division of the feathered police that keeps down insect pests. Winged ones are his specialty, being the most easily caught while the bird is on the wing. As a mosquito destroyer he has no equal, as will be evident by watching him industriously at it about twilight, and later, especially on clear and moonlight nights. But wingless species that he can carry off by skimming close to the ground are also on his bill of fare, ants, spiders, grasshoppers, beetles, worms, grubs. He often courses along a stream, where gnats are plentiful. "Swift or swallow on the wing seems the only living thing on the Congo River," according to Longfellow.

The nature of his food necessitates migration, which is done in a surprisingly short time. So short, indeed, that it was formerly believed by some people that swifts spend the winter in some hollow tree, lying in a torpid state until spring. Even Dr. Coues, an American ornithologist, concedes: "Not impossibly winters in such retreats in a lethargic state. "But no one has ever discovered such a winter-bound colony, and this saying is to be regarded as a folk-tale started by ignorant people who found the birds nesting in trees and therefore decided that, being hollow-tree dwellers like the owls, woodpeckers and chickadees, the swift was also an all-the-year-round bird; seeing none about during the winter, of course, the hearsay grew that the birds were hibernating:

"Ye sweet birds
Were you asleep through all the wintry hours,
Beneath the waters, or in mossy caves?"

—John Wilson (Hymn to Spring)

Audubon declares for migration, and proves it to his own satisfaction, or indeed, to that of any thinking person. The world is a small place to one who can travel a thousand miles between sunrise and sunset, and so the swift has two migrating periods, spring and fall.

"While yet the golden August days were long,
Prescient of this the shrill-voiced swifts had fled;—
Wise birds that would not stay to sing their song
When their delights were dead."

—Anon. (Autumn)

"But now the earth is green again,
And the blue swift wheels in air."

—Robert Buchanan (After Snow)

There are about fifty species of swift inhabiting temperate and warmer parts of the globe, among them the European swift, or black swift, the esculent swift of Asia, the principal maker of the celebrated nests so highly esteemed by the Chinese as food. In America there is the white-throated rock swift found in the southwestern states of Wyoming, Utah and Nevada, black above and white below, a large and beautiful species and high-flier of almost incredible velocity, with a loud shrill twitter, nesting in the most inaccessible places in great colonies—also the cloud swifts, so called because of the great height to which they can fly, found in the Rockies up into Canada.

But the most familiar species in America is the chimney swift, "the swift that haunts the chimney," as Frank Bolles terms it, found from Florida to Labrador and west to the Rocky Mountains during the breeding season. The winter is passed in Mexico and South America, often, erroneously, called "chimney swallow":

"The wayward swallows flicker through the air,
Or, safely sheltered 'neath the mossy eaves,
Sit chattering scandal at their clay-built doors;
While others, with a taste for soot and smoke,
Dart down the chimney, with a muffled noise,
Echoing the distant thunder."

—Thomas B. Read

Before the coming of civilized man, these birds made use of hollow trees for their nesting and sleeping quarters, and even some of the old-fashioned ones still breed in trees. Audubon describes a colony numbering thousands that nested year after year in the shell of a large sycamore near Louisville, Ky. The progress of civilization, however, has made the house chimney the fashionable home for up-to-date swifts, and many an unused flue is used for a swift nursery during the summer months.

"Deep and narrow, and dark and lonely,
The sooty place that you nested in;
Over you one blue glimmer only,—
Say, were there many to make the din?
This is certain, that somewhere or other
Up in the chimney is loosely hung
A queer-shaped nest, where a patient mother
Brooded a nest of tender young."

—Anon. (The Chimney Nest)

The nest is oddly shaped, but cleverly constructed. It is built entirely of small sticks and twigs, gathered while the architect is in full flight. They are from the ground or broken off as the swift dashes past a branch. They are glued with saliva firmly to the inside of the tree or chimney, and to each other, the lower ones being placed in a semi-circle and fastened to the wood or brick, and the others laid criss-cross upon them and so interwoven to make a pocket-shaped cradle. Usually there are several nests in one chimney, for the swift is no solitude-lover and flocks with his own kind. The east or south side, five to eight feet below the top, is the favorite location.

Humans who are occupying the house belonging to the chimney do not long remain in ignorance of their super-tenants. For there is more or less commotion about the chimney top which echoes down into the rooms below. But, as Lowell says: "Thank fortune, the swift still glues his nest, and rolls his distant thunders night and day in the wide-throated chimney, still sprinkles the evening air with his merry twittering."

"Hark! a sound as of rushing waters,
Or the rustle of falling leaves,
Or the patter of eager raindrops
Yonder among the eaves!
Then out from the dark, old chimney,
Blackened with soot and smoke,
With a whirr of fluttering pinions
A startled birdling broke."

—Julia C. B. Dorr (The Chimney Swallow)

Chimneys are not chosen merely for nesting sites, but for snug sleeping quarters. Audubon once counted nearly a thousand entering one chimney for the night, and left off because the number grew too great to count. When sleeping time comes, the birds begin to gather, flying in a circle high above the chimney, and as they go round they sink lower and lower and the circle grows smaller until it resembles a large whirling funnel. Those at the lower part plunge into the chimney in turn, and so none are injured.

"With circling swoops they flit across my view,
Like winged darts by hidden power sent,
Then lightning-like
The chimney strike,
And pass from sight,—and then, behold, anew
The air is by their sable feathers rent!"

—Anon. (The Chimney Swallow)

Both young and old hang to the walls like bats, supported by their claws and tails. Indeed, that is the chief use for both, the feet being very small and weak and useless for walking, but strong enough to serve as hooks when the bird hangs himself up for the night, where, with claws firmly caught in a crack or ledge, he is as safe as a coat hanging on a peg. The shafts of the tail feathers are very stiff, and end in a row of sharp points, which are of great service as a prop, for while hanging by the claws the swift is also resting on his tail, the sharp spines pressing against the hard bricks and bracing him firmly. While the flock is settling, there is considerable gossip of the day's doings, almost musical in its happy, contented murmur.

"I slept in an old homestead by the sea,
And in the chimney nest
At night, the swallows told home-lore to me,
As to a friendly guest,
A liquid twitter, low, confiding, glad,
From many a glossy throat,
Was all the voice, and yet its accents had
A precious, golden note."

—Horatio N. Powers (Chimney Swallows)

Chimney swift is approximately dressed for his surroundings, being a sooty brown generally glossed with faint greenish tinges above and paling below into gray on the breast. The wings are black, and there is a velvety black space about the eyes, like a fresh dab of coal-black. Both sexes look alike. At first the young are blind and naked, and mouselike, and they remain in the nest a month before they are strong-winged enough to venture out. But before the month is over, they have done considerable scrambling about the brick walls, and often get to the mouth of the chimney to anticipate feeding time. But by early autumn they are strong enough for the southbound journey: "The chimney swallows leave us early, for example, apparently so soon as their latest fledglings are firm enough of wing to attempt the long rowing-match that is before them."—Lowell.

Of course, not every chimney is a good one from the swift's viewpoint. Many being built nowadays could not possibly house a swift family, to say nothing of a colony, and it almost seems that the birds will have to go back to their forest homes if they are to increase and multiply. It is the wide-mouthed, deep-throated flues that attract

them, not the pert little thing no bigger than a stove-pipe. If swift neighbors are desired, old-fashioned chimneys must be built for their accommodation.

"And, as swallows build
In these wide, old-fashioned chimneys,
So thy twittering songs shall nestle
In my bosom."

—Longfellow (To an Old Danish Song-Book)

"A harsh, cracked throat like the old stone flue
Where the swallows build the summer through."

—Madison Cawein

HARRIETTE WILBUR.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Age of Man, The—Rev. Cornelius Merrins, D.D..... 176
Assisi, The Little Poor Man of—E. Leahy..... 185
Ars, The Cure of: Dialog with Satan—Owen A. McGrath, C.S.P. 215
Apologist, The Catholic—Rev. P. M. Northcote..... 1
Bible, The, as the Grand Prayer-Book of the Pre-Reformation Laity—John M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap. 247
Bouquet of Squills—Harriette Wilbur 148
Catholic Apologist—Rev. P. M. Northcote..... 1
Campbell, Thomas, O.S.B.—Phases of the Picturesque..... 83
Cascia, Notes of a Pilgrim to—Cecil Fanning..... 103
Comtesse de Courson—Lisieux at the Present Day 139
Cure of Ars: Dialog with Satan—Owen A. McGrath, C.S.P... 215
Czecho-Slovakia, A Dark Spot in—Stephen J. Palickar..... 209
Dark Spot in Czecho-Slovakia, A—Stephen J. Palickar..... 209
Dialog with Satan: Cure of Ars—Owen A. McGrath, C.S.P.... 215
Democracy, Education and Freedom—Charles Mercier, Ph.D... 159
Existence of God, Kant and the Proofs of—Simon Fitz Simmons 14
Education, Freedom and Democracy—Charles Mercier, Ph.D... 159
Europe, Missionary Institutions of—Peter Kilitsko 164
Fagan, John E.—Liberty of the Press 68
Fanning, Cecil—Notes of a Pilgrim to Cascia..... 103
French Revolution—Claude Williamson 234
Freedom and Democracy—Charles Mercier, Ph.D..... 159
Fitz Simmons, Simon—Kant and the Proofs of the Existence of God 14
Great Americans: Patrick Henry—H. W. 272
Ghosts? Who Are the—Daniel J. McKenna 306
Humor and Its Source—Claude Williamson..... 222
Hart, Fred. B.—The Price of Peace..... 130
Henry, Patrick—H. W. 272
In Nature's Realm: The Sand Wasp..... 72
Bouquet of Squills 148
Bird Named Swift 318
Inspiration of Scripture—Arthur Ryland..... 118
Institutions, Missionary, of Europe—Peter Kilitsko 164
Kilitsko, Peter—Missionary Institutes of Europe..... 164
Kant and the Proofs of the Existence of God—Simon Fitz Simmons 14

Lenhart, John M., O.M.Cap.—The Bible as the Grand Prayer-Book of the Pre-Reformation Laity 247
Liberty of the Press—John E. Fagan 68
Leahy, E.—Little Poor Man of Assisi 185
Lisieux at the Present Day—Cometesse de Courson 139
Little Poor Man of Assisi—E. Leahy 185
McKenna, Daniel J.—Who Are the Ghosts? 306
Missionary Institutes of Europe—Peter Kilitski 164
Merrins, Rev. Cornelius, D.D.—The Age of Man 176
McGrath, Owen A., C.S.P.—The Cure of Ars: Dialog with Satan 215
Man, The Age of—Rev. Cornelius Merrins, D.D. 176
Montherlant, Henry—Wm. M. Scheiffley, Ph.D. 313
Mulier Fortis—J. F. Schofield 95
Northcote, Rev. P. M.—The Catholic Apologist 1
Nature's Realm: The Sand Wasp 72
Bouquet of Squills 148
Bird Named Swift 318
Notes of a Pilgrim to Cascia—Cecil Fanning 103
Palickar, Stephen J.—A Dark Spot in Czecho-Slovakia 209
Phases of the Picturesque—Thomas Campbell, O.S.B. 83
Price of Peace—Fred. B. Hart 130
Proofs of the Existence of God, Kant and—Simon Fitz Simmons 14
Psychology—Psycho-Analysis—Claude Williamson 284
Polish Peasant—Charles Philips 49
Philips, Charles—The Polish Peasant 49
Picturesque, Phases of—Thomas Campbell, O.S.B. 83
Poetry 60
Press, Liberty of—John E. Fagan 68
Revolution, The French—Claude Williamson 234
Ryland, Arthur—Inspiration of Scripture 118
Sand Wasp—Harriette Wilbur 72
Scheiffley, Wm. H.—Henry De Montherlant 313
Schofield, J. F.—Mulier Fortis 95
Scripture, Inspiration of—Arthur Ryland 118
Squills, A Bouquet of—Harriette Wilbur 148
Sand Wasp—Harriette Wilbur 72
Wilbur, Harriette—The Sand Wasp 72
A Bouquet of Squills 148
Bird Named Swift 318
Williamson, Claude—Humor and Its Source 222
The French Revolution 234
Psychology—Psycho-Analysis 284

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